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LEADER

From the Hindu dated 13th January 1920

We publish elsewhere an account sent by Reuter of an interview which a representative of the PALL MALL GAZETTE had with Mr.Montagu. There are two points about his views regarding this Punjab events which are most disquieting. He said as regards the complaint that the British public and India Office were ignorant of the details of the Occurrences until the evidence reached England that having decided that the Hunter Committee should inform the public of the events in detail, the Indian Office had nothing to do but await the results of the inquiry. We cannot imagine a more flimsy explanation of the ugly fact that the India Office was kept ignorant of the most ghastly details of the occurrences in the Martial Law regime by His Majesty's servants in India. An inquiry cannot obviate the necessity for the executive in India to report faithfully to the Secretary of State about the events in the Punjab and of the accounts which they had in their possession. It is nothing short of a scandal that this elementary duty was not performed by the Government of India. But the India Office, in our view, committed a grave blunder in being content with the appointment of a Committee and in not demanding a full report of the occurrences from the authorities in India. Mr.Montagu has further deprecated the tendency to form hasty conclusions from such evidence as has been published. He talks of support to His Majesty's Officers who had to deal with a trying situation and at the same time refers to the natural anxiety for the reputation of the British Government for merciful and orderly administration. This freezing counsel is entirely out of place and is hardly convincing. It is in any case entirely inapplicable to the case, for instance of General Dyer, who has convicted himself out of his own mouth. The incidents which that perpetrator of barbarous cruelties narrated with such gusto are plain, unmistakably clear and the least that the Government anxious about their prestige, should do is to deprive him of his command instantaneously. But to the

disgust and indignation of the public in India, this has not yet been done. It is incomprehensible that the Hunter Committee should not have made an interim recommendations to the authorities in this behalf, and anxious as we are not to prejude the work of the committee, we cannot but express our astonishment and keen disappointment that the Committee should not have proposed to the Government the urgent desirability of at least dismissing General Dyer pending further report.

From the Hindu dated 17th January 1920

The Amritsar Tragedy.

The INDIA Writes:-

Great Britain has never been so stirred about the condition of India since the days of the Mutiny as she has been this week. At last the veil of official and parliamentary evasions has been rent, and the ghastly details of the massacres of reprisal are coming to the light of day. Horror, shame and disgust are being universally expressed at this display of frightfulness upon an unprovocative and unarmed meeting. It is difficult to find a parallel for it in history unless it be the massacre of St.Barthalomew or of Glencoe, with which it will take its sinister place in history. General Dyer appears to be a frank and honest soldier unable to place the horrible deed he has perpetrated in any sort of perspective. That men of such mentality are the men who hold India down is a hideous thought. The deed done is now at the Bar of the civilised world for judgment. It is difficult to express in language what that judgment must be. Our heads can only drop in deep repentance and sorrow.

We must remind our readers that all such men as General Dyer are protected against all action in the Civil Courts by the Indemnity act passed (in circumstances of very doubtful legality) last sp september by the Viceroy's Legislative Council. It seems incredible, but that is the case, What is England xxxx going to do about it? Is she still the England whose very draymen seventy years ago publicly flogged the Austrian General Hayman for his atrocious record of cruelties, the England whose Palmerston refused an apology for this burst of generous rage? Alas, we fear she is the England blinded by the whooly nonsense surrounding the grant of the "Reforms". That kxxx Lilliputian measure has been ambling through the House of Lords this week, and been discussed midly mildly by amiable peers, pro-consular and otherwise. So far there has scarcely been a hint there that the Bill totally dissatisfies India, except for Lsd Lord Selbone's vigorous repudiation of agitators against Rowlattism and of

those who dared to criticise its preamble which turns self-determination into a mockery.

It is difficult to trace a solitary ~~extendin-~~ extenuating circumstance for this country with regard to the Punjab Reprisals--we can only say that the full truth was kept from us, and that the Moderate Deputations and the Moderate Press in India took the line that the Bill far transcended the reprisals in importance. It is true that they claim that ~~key~~ that they did something in the Punjab matter CHEZ Montagu It is also true that they did not associate themselves with the public protests made by the Congress Deputations. The present, however, is too tragic a time for recriminations or further divisions. It is atime for the retracing of unwise steps and for a closing up of all ranks so that means may be devised whereby England may retrieve her tarnished honour, and India be avenged and reconciled. The recalls of Lord Chelmsford and of Sir Michael O'Dwyer are imperative. Nor should the matter end at recall. Impeachment may be obsolte, obsolete, but it is not yet defunct in our constitution. There is considerable probability that the Congress will consider a resolution urging the recall of Lord Chelmsford.

The Hindu, dated 20th January 1920:-

Mr.Philip Snowden writes in the LABOUR LEADER:--

The disclosures made in evidence before the commission which is inquiring into the Punjab massacres have made a profound impression upon British public opinion. For the sake of the prestige of the British Governmentit is hoped that the General who committed these murders was insane. One is unwilling to believe that any British officer, in a state of sanity, could have been guilty of such diabolical conduct, and yet the crime of General Dyer differs only in degree from what the British Government is now doing in Ireland, in Egypt and in other parts of India, where a conquered people have the misfortune to be subject to British rule. Sad as is the massacre of four or five hundred peaceful people and the wounding of three times that number, this is not the most serious and painful aspect of this affair. It is an indication of the spirit in which the Army of Occupation in India regards its duties and its relations to the Indian people. This defenceless crowd of five thousand people were peacefully holding when they were fired upon without notice, and the confession was made by the General responsible for this attack, that the murders were only stopped because of the exhaustion of ammunition. It is over nine months since this massacre took place, and upto this week the facts have been withheld by the Government from the knowledge of the British people. This affair is not only the bloodiest massacre of innocent people in modern times, but it is the most outstanding instance of the barbarity which is always and inevitably associated with imperialism. For the present, at any rate, we may hope that the British Press will give a rest to Bolshevik atrocities and German infamies.

484

LEADER

From the Hindu dated 3rd February 1920:-

That prohibition of the consumption of intoxicating liquors is necessary for this country, as it is for every drink consuming country on earth, is absolutely certain, PACE, Mr.R.B.Wood's able but unconvincing arguments to the contrary. The vaticinations of croakers, to the effect that prohibition would not succeed in the United States show that they have been completely falsified, if we may take the statement of the New York correspondent of the TIMES to be based on fact. He says that a fund of ten millions sterling has been devoted by the American Anti Saloon League for a campaign to make the British Isles dry. Ten millions are a mere drop in the ocean, but it is indicative of a philanthropic and reforming spirit which it is hoped will catch on. Not only would the State lose an enormous revenue obtained from drink, but the introduction of prohibition would mean payment of heavy compensation in various directions for closing down the industry which, in the United Kingdom and Ireland, has grown to be, so to speak, sacrosanct. In this country, the introduction of prohibition would be a comparatively easy matter and would most assuredly put a stop to the daily increasing thirst of the labouring population for the form of an indulgence which is incompatible with their social, moral and material prosperity and advancement. Abkari is a transferred subject under the Reforms Scheme, and Indian Ministers and Legislative Councils will soon be in a position to deal with the excise problem with, it is hoped intelligence, firmness and statesmanship. If they fail to effect a reformation in this matter and permit the present injurious system to flourish undisturbed, their conduct would scarcely be inkeeping with their long urged reformation for the suppression of drink and the introduction of prohibition . Indian publicists would do well by placing themselves in communication with the Anti Saloon League and the prominent Pussyboots of America, in order to obtaining a thorough grasp of the subject. How the loss of increase by the

abolition of the drink revenue is to be found is a problem for a pp poor country like India. The problem must be faced and successfully faced by resolute action, partly by the decrease of expenditure in other directions which would result from prohibition, and by tapping new sources.

488

LEADER.

From the Hindu dated 19th February 1920

The Govennment of India have now laid themselves open to the charge that they are bent upon shutting out all timely discussion of the Hunter Committee Report in the Imperial Council. That is the inference that one will draw from the Hon'ble Mr.Patel's interpellation in the Council as to whether it was the intention of Government to admit for discussion in the month of March resolutions based on the findings of the Hunter Committee's Report and whether they will relax the rule requiring fifteen days' notice in case the Report of the Committee is not published in time to admit of such notice. Sir William in his reply contented himself with simply stating that the Government did not expect they would be in a position to publish the Report before the end of March. It is clear from Sir William's statement that the delay in publication was not due to the circumstance that the Report would not be ready by that time. Nor is it possible to find any reason not to publish the Report in time to be scrutinized by the Council in this session, unless it be that the Government of India do not wish it to be discussed now. The postponement of the discussion of unpleasant relevations till the public interest in the subject slackens may have a certain advantage, but owing to the adopting of that course, the reputation of the Government, low as it is at present, is bound to sink lower still in public estimation. The significance of this course will not, however, fail to attract public attention. It is not so much for our enlightenment that we prize the discussion in Council as for the enlightenment of the British public which is better imparted through debates in the Council, and the Government of India's shutting out of the discussion will keep England ignorant of the truth of the matter, till such time when the whole thing had been more or less wiped out of her memory. However the public's case is likely to be soon published; for, we hope that Mr. Gandhi, writing to the press, about the Punjab Report, says:- "We have read in the Press that the report of the Hunter

Hunter Committee will be received by the Viceroy before the end of March in instalments. The report of our Committee should also be published at once. The printing of evidence is almost finished. Mr.Jayakar has undertaken that work. The reportis nearing completion. The members of the Committee will meet at Benares on the 16th to consider the report and it is ~~estimated-that-the-cost-of-the-report~~ hoped that by the 20th the report will be sent for printing. The expenses of printing the report will be very high and it is estimated that the cost of the report and the evidence will be about ~~sixth~~ eight rupees per copy." We hope arrangments will be made for giving wide publicity in England to the Congress Committee Report as well as to the Hunter Report.

C 10 492

LEADER

From the Hindu dated 26th February 1920:-

Political ~~Public~~ Criticism

The NEAR EAST makes the following pertinent comments which politicians of all shades, our budding Pitts and Disraelis as well the "obstructionists" would do well to read, mark and inwardly degest:--

"As yet we have heard nothing of the feelings aroused in India by the smooth progress of the Bill, but the deputations of politicians to this country were, in one sense, representative, and probably their expressed views may be taken as fair samples of what is being said and thought in the East. The Moderates here are as nearly enthusiastic as it is the nature of moderates to be, and they claim to speak for the overwhelming bulk of intelligent public opinion, they are doubtless already preparing to undertake the burdens of office. We fancy that beneath the enthusiasm we can detect a note of astonishment, and even trepidation, at the ungrudging response which has been given to their claims; but they are already too experienced politicians to allow such feelings to appear in public, and in truth their proper place is the closet rather than the platform. Whatever their private feelings may be, they have our cordial good wishes for the journey and they will find rough places as well as smooth, but at any rate it leads in the direction which they wish to follow, and stout hearts and clear eyes will carry them far.

"If the Moderates seem to be shaping as the Ministerial party, the Congress deputation is beginning to present the appearance of a not very responsible opposition. To them the Bill is "totally inadequte", and we fear when the new Legislative Councils meet they will find some hard things of the men who now welcome it. Indian politicians have hitherto had little experience of criticism or invective directed against themselves, and we cannot deny that there will be a certain piquancy in the situation when the issue is fairly joined; at any rate, we may anticipate that the councils will lose their reputation for somnalent dulness, and that in a year or so the

the debates will be better worth reporting than has been usual in the past. Western experience seems to establish the principle that practical politicians are all the better for tolerably thick skins, and the acquisition of that equipment is the most seasonable wish we can offer to both sides."

It will be seen that in the opinion of a shrewd observer the Moderates were surprised at the readiness of response with which their claims were met. That certainly does not indicate as if the Bill required much "saving", except, as we have before suggested, from going too far. What is more interesting than a question now largely academical is the ready assumption of the writer that the Moderates are the party destined to be in perpetual power with the congressites a permanent opposition. That we need hardly point out, is taking too much for granted. The Moderates may claim to speak for the "overwhelming bulk of intelligent public opinion" but they are perhaps a little previous in "preparing to undertake the burdens of office" on the strength of that claim alone. There are a few other troublesome if necessary preliminaries to be gone through before Hercules can buckle to his labours. They must convince the electorates and the electorates are as yet an unknown quantity. Mrs.Besant and Mr.Banerjee may be confident of "sweeping the board" but we rather anticipate, to keep up the figures of speech, the infallible "system" on which they base their confidence would turn to be as reliable as "systems" generally are. That however, is on the knees of the gods and the electorates. Particularly APROPOS of the present situation are the concluding sentences, we have quoted. It is often too readily assumed, so much of puerile artificiality has there been in our political life, that a strong criticism is necessarily inspired by malice or dictated by personal antipathy. To take a "leader" otherwise thank at his valuation savours of LESE MAJESTE. To taunt him with inconsistency or insincerity, to call into question his infallibility, that were blasphemy unspeakable. When an eminent politician talks of a criticism written in an "Unnatural fit of anger", leading one to picture

a wild-eyed journalist frothing at the mouth and dashing down fiery invective in the intervals, of tearing his hair and throwing valuable furniture about, it is safe to say that the anger he is attributing to the critic is but a pale shadow of the roaring furnace within his own breast. When again another--we shall not commit ourselves to degrees of comparison--eminent gentleman takes occasion to achieve a masterpiece of invective against his critics in telling his audience what a deceased statesman would NOT have done, one may presume that his object was not so much to paint the merits of the statesman, a superfluous task, though no doubt the ostensible object of his speech, as to demonstrate the iniquity of the speakers' political opponents. In both cases the gentleman showed a sensitiveness to criticism that is not hopeful augury for a happy time when the "burdens of office" begin to weight their shoulders. It is not pleasant to see ourselves as others see us, but strong criticism is not necessarily inspired by a mortal personal antipathy and we would commend to such as these the concluding sentence in our quotation.

498

From the Hindu dated 26th February, 1920

Indian Political Parties.

"Mrs.Besant's Bid for Supremacy."

The following is from the LONDON TIMES of 30th of January last:--

Writing by the last mail, a well-known Indian authority on Indian affairs estimates the balance of parties at the Amritsar session of the Indian National Congress. He says that the breach among the different sections widened and that there are now four distinct factions:--

(1) The absolutely irreconcilable element led by Mr. Das and Mr.Chakervarty of Calcutta.

(2) The less irreconcilable element led by Mr.Kasturiranga Iyengar and Mr.Satyamurthi.

(3) A group still in league with the other elements, led by Pundit M.M.Malaviya and Pudit Nehru, the President of the Congress; but these two may soon part company.

(4) A small group of what are now called the "Moderates among the Extremists", led by Mrs.Besant and partially supported by Mr.Jinnah, Mrs.Besant decried the thoughtless demand for the recall of Lord Chelmsford.

I am fully convinced (writes this experienced authority) that before many months are over the factions will swell to six, if not more. Distinguished as the Congress was in 1918 it is even more so now. The Presidential address touching the Reforms was quite unworthy of the occasion. On the other hand Mrs.Besant has now definitely separated from her old party and is playing her own hand.

It is now dearer than ever that the supremacy or ascendancy of the National Party socalled will be severely fought between Mrs.Besant and Mr.Tilak. Mrs.Besant made this plain by her full exposure at the Congress of the unscrupulous tactics of Mr.Tilak and his friends. It may be taken as certain that Mr.Tilak will be elected President of the next Congress, if not unanimously, at any rate, by a large majority.

Meanwhile he has been able to get the Congressvenue for December 1920, to be held at Nagpur. That town has been a stronghold of Tilakism for many years and especially since 1907. Mr. Tilak fancies that with the strong phalanx of his party at Nagpur he will defeat Mrs.Besant and others

and become the boss of the Congress. But I should not be surprised if the Das Party did not make a strong bid for the first place.

This much is certain, that if a shred p of prestige remained to the Congress in 1919, it is now completely gone. It is only a group of intransigents chiefly of the politically lame blind and halt.

The Reform Act is gratefully accepted by all India outside these elements. The Moderates intend to pull their full strength during the current year. I am hopeful that the cause of co-operation with English friends and of truth and honesty will gain the day.

From the Hindu, dated 3rd March 1920:-

Military Expenditure.

It is with ~~ix~~ bated breath that the public are generally warned to approach the subject of military ~~expx~~ finance, because it is stated to be one which is primarily within the province of the expert and the laymen may not without risk to the body politic venture to suggest or criticise the demands which the former may formulate in respect of military requirements. Mr.Hailey, Finance Member, in his lucid narrative, appears to have approached this question in this ~~xedixi~~ traditional attitude of trepidation and adopted the arguments usually urged for keeping up the military strength. He holds out no hope of India ever reaching the pre-war standard of military expenditure, and he wants the public to prepare themselves for greater outlay on it in years to come. The position in the Middle East, the new permanent liabilities brought on by the war, the improved equipment necessary to keep our soldiers in comfort, the improved artillery and mechanical transport, construction of hospitals, barracks, railways, roads, all these would require an outlay which was bound to increase year by year. Mr.Hailey's picture of the future is indeed gloomy, so far as the military burden is concerned, and he does not hesitate to say so. "I may say at once", he told the Council, "that, if India is to maintain in an efficient state an army of the strength required for the adequate defence of her frontier, the cost of the military services will in future be much in excess of the sum which we have been accustomed to allot in our budget for the purpose." It is not clear whether it is the pre-war allotment or the expenditure incurred during the war that is implied by the word "accustomed", but so far as the year 1920-21 is concerned, the Government of India have been unable to reduce the expenditure. To quote again from the Finance Member's speech: "The very full data collected by the Army authorities has been exhaustively scrutinised; every feasible economy has been effected, and the provision of £40 million is the least which can safely be inserted in the budget.

And I must warn the Council that if the operations on the Frontier should continue into the ensuing year, even the provision now proposed will not suffice." There is need for a more impartial scrutiny into Army Expenditure especially after the failure of the Committee of the Executive Council of the Viceroy to effect any economies. The revised budget estimates for 1919-20, provide for a total expenditure of £55.4 millions of which £14.7 millions represent the cost of the operations on the Frontier and Afghanistan. Apart, however, from special war contributions and the cost of the operations on the Frontier, the expenditure in 1919-20 is expected to exceed the provision originally made by £9.11, and a sub-committee of the Executive Council was appointed to investigate the causes of this heavy increase. What are described as the residuary obligations of the War constitute one reason, while the reaction caused on ordinary expendisutre by the operations on the North West Frontier is advanced as another cause. It is clear, however, that this Sub-Committee has not been able to discover where a reduction in expenditure could be effected, and though we are by no means opposed to research work of any kind, the public may be pardoned if the result of such investigation brings no tangible benefits to them. The fact is that no r eal economy in this important matter can be effecteduntil the people are afforded opportunities to effectively represent their views through their accreditted spokesmen and wide publicity is given to schemes of military expension and light from all quarters is welcomed. Dictation of military policy, as in India, by the war lords is an obstacle to progrress and favours extravagance. Civil Control, subject to public opinion, is the only method of preventing waste and compelling economy in that sphere. At the present rate of rapid increase, we do not know where India will be in the next few years, and with the Army in India Committee deliberating within closed doors and the report of Lord Jellicoe kept secret the prospect before us in India is not indeed one that could afford satisfaction.

17 506

From the Hindu dated 11th March 1920:-

Madras Khilafat Committee

We are asked to publish the following cable sent to the Premiere and ~~thx~~ to the Secretary of State for India:--

"Mass meeting under my presidency resolved that no terms can be acceptable to India that do not vouchsafe to Turks full independent sovereignty over their homeland in Europe, Asia and to Sultan Suzerainty over Arabia, Palastine, Syria, Mesopatamia, thus maintaining his position as Khalifa, Custodian, Guardian of the Holy Places.

Meeting expresses indignation, resentment against Christian fanaticism roused in Europe by Archbishops, Canterbury and York, further protests against attempts of Lords Robert Cecil, Bryce, Curzon to influence decision of Peace Conference calculated to hurt religious susceptibilities of Mussalmans.

Meeting warns British Government any settlement of Khilafat and Turkish empire in deliberate disregard of Muslim Religious sentiments would be disastrous to the ~~pix~~ peace of World and Empire.

Yakub Hasan,

Member, Legislative Council.

From the Hindu, dated 18th March 1920

Non-Brahman Question in Poona.

Mr.Tilak's Speech.

Poona city, March 16:--Under the auspices of Gopal Club Mahratta Association Lokamania Tilak delivered an impressive address on the Brahmin and Non-Brahmin question. Mr. Trimbakrao Avate, Mahratta leader, presided; the audience was over 2000. Mr.Tilak condemned the division of the Hindu society into Brahmins and Non-Brahmins as illogical and unheard of for Non-Brahmins include hundreds of castes who like Brahmins do not interdive or intermarry. Hence follows the inference that this split was created by interested persons to delay reforms. A similar game proved unsuccessful by Hindu-Moslem unity. He emphasised that this was the time to close their ranks to wrest Swarajya from the bureaucracy. In Shivaji's time national unity won Swarajya. It was lost when disunion prevailed. Even now Non-Brahmans are leading Princes, leading merchants and landlords, Brahmins remaining poor as ever. Hence complaint against them is improper. Brahmins in these days were foremost in demanding and suffering for self-Government and he appealed to all Non-Brahmins to come to the front and suffer and win the battle of Swarajya like Mr.Gandhi, Mr.Lajpat Rai and Mr.C.R.Das who are Non-Brahmins.

19

LEADER.

510

From the Hindu, dated 23rd March 1920:-

Lord Meston's Award.

Meetings to consider Lord Meston's award, were held yesterday of the members of the Madras Presidency Association and of the South Indian Liberal Federation, the Local organizations of the Non-Brahmins community. In the former Dewan Bahadue P-Kesava Pillai presided and the Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur P.Theagaraya Chetti presided over the latter. We cannot congratulate the Federation on the advice of Mr.Theagaraya chetti that the non-Brahmins should exclude the Brahmans nor the Presidency Association on its resolution to the same effect. If Lord Meston's award has given grounds for disappointment, as we have shown it has, a sober view of the situation and a sense of responsibility ought to mark the speeches and actions of the leading men in the non-Brahmin community. To advise a wholesale boycott of the Brahmin element in the Reformed Councils, and virtually therefore in all political activity is practically to initiate the cessation of co-operation in public life. Such a paralysis of co-operative action between the Brahmans and the Non-Brahmans must be unthinkable to all who have got a glimmering of political sense, of civic conscience, and of constitutional rights. Let the non-Brahmans agitate for a larger number of reserved seats by all means, but it is a purblind policy to cut themselves off entirely from association with the Brahmans, whose past contribution to the political advancement of the country and whose capacity for elevating it still further, it would be sheer in gratitude and perversity to ignore. The Reform Scheme is a mishappen misshapen thing from start to finish. Beginning with Diarchy, the amorphous nature of it is made visible in the number of compartments into which the electorate is divided and the different units of which the Legislative Council is to consist. If Englishmen, Anglo-Indians, Muhammadans, Indian Christians, Zamindars, the trading and the planting community, are to have separate electorates, the best thing probably under the existing strained relations

between the Brahman and the Non-Brahman communities would have been to allocate to each of them separate seats. There is no particular political virtue, so far as we can see, in having a so-called General Electorate, in which Brahmans and Non-Brahmans only can compete, the latter having already the privilege of a number of reserved seats otherwise provided. The Reforms Act and its ramification are a jumble of illogical and ill-considered expedients, and time alone can show what benefit the country is going to derive from it. Such a proposal for a further definite division of seats between the Brahmans and Non-Brahmans was under discussion among their representatives just before the proceedings of the Arbitrator commenced and it fell through on account of a very small difference of opinion in the number of seats to be respectively allotted.

LEADER.

From the Hindu dated 25th March 1920:-

In its leading article yesterday "Justice" accuses the "Hindu" of making a "most preposterous" claim on behalf of the Brahmans in regard to the National Congress and observes:--"Those who know something of the history of the congress will laugh at such pretensions. The Congress is not the property of any caste. Nor are its principles and methods the invention of any caste. If any single individual could be called its originator and progenitor, it was Mr.A.O.Hume" and so on. The "Hindu" has never made any such assertion as is attributed to it and our contemporary might have spared itself the trouble of refuting the allegation. Nor are we disposed to dispute the services of eminent Non-Brahman gentlemen in the Congress cause in the past. By the statement which we made that the Brahmans have done notable work in the past for the political advancement of the country and have got the capacity to do the same kind of work in the future, and that it would be ingratitude and perversity to ignore the same, it was not intended to exalt the services of the Brahmans as of incomparable excellence or to contest the claims of the members of other sections of the community. The proposal of the Non-Brahmans practically to cut themselves off from political association with the Brahmans is in our opinion one which ought not to commend itself to the leaders of the Non-Brahman community also for the reason that it would create bad blood throughout the country among the members of both the communities. At times of election, it would lead to faction fight and endanger the public peace. The spirit of antagonism and class hatred aroused in the political campaign would percolate to municipal and social life, and to public activities of all kinds. Anglo-Indian journalists will certainly appreciate the prospect. The "Madras Times" remarks with glee that, "a clean sweep of Brahman councillors is neither likely nor desirable. But that touch of political extravagance apart, only advantage can result from the fierce fight for seats in the Reformed Council now foreshadowed." It has no good word either in

516

its editorial notes or in the lucubrations, of its contributor "Politicus" for any of the political parties or persons belonging to them in Madras except perhaps to NEW INDIA which has had no small share in fanning the flame of class animosity in Madras. As we anticipated, Lord Meston's award had embittered the feelings of the Non-Brahman leaders. It would be well for them however, in view of the large interests at stake, to take a calm and reasoned estimate of the situation and to devise a suitable plan of political action.

LEADER 23 518

From the Hindu, dated 2nd April 1920:-

The Amritsar Victims.

We find it difficult to understand the x refusal of His Excellency the Viceroy to interfere with the death sentence passed on Faqir and Ghulam Hassan in the Amritsar Riots case. The Privy Councils' decision only disposes of a question of law as to the jurisdiction of the Martial Law Tribunals, it cannot in any way be interpreted as affirming the findings of these tribunals as to the guilt of the accused. It is true Faqir may be taken to have stabbed with a knife the National Bank officials, he courageously confessed his guilt, but pleaded provocation in extenuation ofhis guilt. "Two cousins of mine were shot in the mob at the bridge," he says, "and their bodies hadnot been found. This excited me and I joined the mob." As regards Ghulam Hassan there is no such confession. Some witnesses, x doubtless deposed against him, but what reliance could be placed on the evidence of men, most of whom, there is abundant evidence to show, were compelled by the police to turn perjurors? In an ably drafted note on the case of the Amritsar victims, which we understand hadbeen forwarded to Governmentof India by Dr.Satyapal, the Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru, that able advocate of Allahabad points out that the existence of widespread dpolice corruption and torture. "As regards Ghulam Hassan," he says, "some relations of the accused gave information to the non-official committee of enquiry to the effect that a certain sub-Inspector of Police promised to release the said Ghulam Hassan on the receipt of a bribe of two thousand rupees. They succeeded in raising one thousand rupees by pawning all the valuables they possessed xx to a money-lender of Amritsar whose name and address were given; that the money thus raised was actually 'challenged'. This statement so far as regards the borrowing is concerned, was confirmed by the money lender named and his account books." The widespread corruption of the po ice in the Martial Law days and the barbarous and inhuman tortures inflicted by them to secure false evidence for the prosecution are matters of common knowledge throughout the Punjab. It is impossible to

say of any trial by the Martial Law commissions that it was free from this double taint. The upholding of the judgments of these tribunals by the Privy Council is therefore naturally taken as having caused a grave failure of justice." Respect for justice, if for nothing else, demands that the life and liberty of the subject should not be tampered within these circumstances. It is not yet too late for Governmen to something by way of reparation to their tarnished prestige. May we hope Lord Chelmsford will yet reconsider his decision in regard to the Amritsar unfortunates?

LEADER C 25 522

From the Hindu, April 2nd 1920.

The Exodus.

The vexed question of the Exodus to the Blue Hills by the Government of Madras has oftentimes been discussed in the ~~pxxx~~ press ~~of~~ and of the platform and the public opinion has expressed itself strongly and definitely against the transfer of the seat of the Government of the Province during summer from its busy headquarters, to the cool, elevated regions of the Nilgiris. The agitation against the Government "fleeing from the plains" in dread of hot weather "with trucks of records company of clerks, and batches of peons" to the far off hills causing considerable dislocation of work and involving heavy expenditure has been fruitless. The curious "logic of habit" supported by an insatiable "craving for a change" and efficiency in the despatch of Government business have steadily been urged as indisputable causes for the annual migration by the loyal apologists of the Government action and we believe that we will not be disclosing a secret when we say that specious arguments as varied and novel as human idiyosyncracies can create have often been put forth in defence of the "programme of relaxation and recreation." It is yet to be established that the exodus conduces to the efficient and speedy disposal of business but on the contrary it is said that much of the "woodenness" and slowness in official methods arises from the exoduses and much of the exclusiveness of the Government we so often protest against, is introduced by the intense isolation of the hill stations. Impelled more by a strong sense of duty than by any alluring hope of success, the Hon'ble Mr.B.V.Narasimha Iyer raked up the subject of exodus once again in the Legislative Council and moved a resolution the other day that the practice of Government moving to Ootacamund during summer be dropped and urged on the attention of the Council that highly technical arguments and fanced causes should not influence the council in coming to a decision on this important question. He repudiated the validity of the argument that the quality and

quantity of work turned out by the Government was better than that ~~of work~~ on the palins, and appealed to the Councils not to be carried away by any sentimental consideration or individual fancy that the move of the Government and Secretariat to the summer seat was warranted by the necessities of administration. The Hon'ble Mr.T.R.Ramachandra Iyer in seconding the resolution said that the exodus was neither necessary nor desirable and that, in the opinion of the public, it was nothing short of a luxury and the Government would not bejustified in spending public money on such an item, which exclusively benefited the officials, more particularly the Europeans. It was a happy feature of the discussion on the resolution that no rancorous personal feeling was exhibited in the course of the debate and that the resolution was championed by the cultured educationist and the practical business men in the council. The attitude of the Government towards the resolution was not one of hatred and contempt as it was some years ago and the Hon'ble Mr.Simpson complimented the Hon'ble Mr.C.D.Todhunter on the very much better defence made by him that the very quibbling and paltry defence set up by the Government ten years ago. We are glad to be able to point out that the angle of new vision has influenced the Government to adopt a conciliatory policy and the statesmanlike action of His Excellency Lord Willingdon was in direct contrast with the rough handling of the situation by His Excellency Lord Pentland who disallowed resolutions on the subject in 1918, and had ruled in effect that the question of what appeared to the popular representatives to be sheer waste of public money was not of public importance deserving consideration in the Council in the interests of the public. The Hon'ble Mr.Todhunter explained the position as he understood it with great self-restraint and his arguments looked like a special appeal to the Council to allow the "relaxation and change" and not to insist on the abandonment of the exodus during the current year. The Hon'ble Mr.Simpson in giving his unqualified support to the resolution said that he did not think it should pass the wit of the membersof the Council,

who were able to carry through such stupendous pieces of legislation such as the District Municipalities Bill, and the Elementary Education Bill, to evolve a system that would be "more original and less stupid" than the present exodus which was "indefensible". The resolution was eventually thrown out. The Hon'ble Me. V. .Ramanujachariar's argument that his longevity of life was due to the fact that for seven continuous years he was going to Ooty was more amusing than convincing and his peculiar position illustrated that a frame of mind trained and hardened in an official groove cannot when occasion arises free itself from the cramping influences of narrow official outlook on matters of public interest and popular welfare. Though the supporters of the resolution knew full well that it was bound to share the fate of similar resolutions brought before the Council in previous years they did not flinch from strongly expressing their honest opinions on this important subject. It will not be out of place to point out that if once the Hill Station practice be abolished the Government might proceed to readjustment which would have to be faced in the near future in the light of altered conditions of administration. The "Times of India" in a vigorous article (March 1918) condemning the exodus practice stated that the increased power of Provincial Governments and the larger control over administrative matters which would be yielded by the Legislative Councils would undoubtedly necessitate the Provincial Government being constantly braced by contact with the most vigorous minds and demand that it should never be straight-waistcoated in the atmosphere of a single part of its jurisdiction but should be at the point where all interests coalesced.

The feasible solution of the difficulty should lie in the direction, as we have already observed, of giving turns to a few of the Government officials to spend some weeks on the Hills. On no account, however, should the whole machinery of Government be moved entailing, needless expense and public hardship.

28

528

LEADER

From the Hindu dated 3rd April 1920:-

Mr.C.Rajagopalachariar, President, Mount Road Workmen's Union, writes:--"About a hundred and fifty workmen of the Madras Arsonel have been suddenly thrown out of employment on the 1st April. All the workmen were no doubt only on daily wages, but they had worked hard and under difficult conditions throughout the war years on starvation wages and it is cruel to turn them out suddenly on the 1st April, without any notice whatever. Their case is pitiable; it would be barelyjust if they could be given the following:--

(1) at least a month's notice or wages before discharge; (2) a bonus for the hard work done during the war, one month's ages for each year of service. If the facts are correctly stated, we have no hesitation in saying that the action is glaringly unjust and deserves the immediate attention of the authorities.

LEADER

From the Hindu dated 8th April 1920:-

Official party.

We referred the other day to the disingenuous answer given by Mr.Fisher on the question of the exclusion of the Congressmen from the Reform and Hunter Committees. The policy of "rallying the cause of moderation in general" has now achieved a more new and sinister development. Elsewhere we publish an important speech by Lord Sinha which throws a flood of light on the policy pursued by the authorities. Lord Sinha/s is the Parliamentary under-Secretary of State for India. He is believed to be destined for even higher honours. That a man in his official position should practise a certain amount of reticence and make at least a pretence of impartiality is what the barest decency would appear to demand. And yet when Mr.Banerjee with noble renunciation of his own superior claims, acclaimed him as the leader of the Moderate Party, Lord Sinha --we can envisage the unreported smirk--not only accepted the honour but proceeded to improve the shinning hour with a speech that showed how rapidly he had adapted himself to his official environment. The future was with the Moderate Party. One cannot forgive that pious expression of hope if Lord Sinha had stopped there. He proceeded to sort out the sheep and the goats in the approved bureaucratic manner. He instanced the Moderate attitude as regards the Punjab and Khilafat questions and contrasted it with that of the Extremists. The former consented to wait for the Hunter Report; the latter did not. There is a certain shallowness, an airy inconsequence about Lord Sinha's official manner which on one occasion at least earned him a well-deserved trouncing from Lord Ampthill. The same disregard for accuracy has on the present occasion betrayed him into a blatant misstatement. The country, Moderates as well as Extremists, will certainly await the Hunter Report. So far as we know, no shade of public opinion has promised to accept the Report as the last word on the subject. Where then is this solid difference

between the Moderate and Extremist attitudes, that Lord Sinha, has professed to have discovered? The views on the Punjab episode have been of the same degree of condemnation. One party may go further in advocating severe punishment for the guilty than the other, but neither is prepared to admit a verdict of "not guilty". One wonders what kind of Moderates was thinking ~~the~~ about and how many of that party will accept the correctness of Lord Sinha's description of their attitude. Then again on the Khilafat question he is certainly not justified in describing the Extremist attitudeas one of severing all loyal connection with the British Government. We are loath to elaborate the point at moment of tension but it is no part of the Congress programme to advocate disloyalty. Lord Sinha is entitled to have his own views on party differences. If it amuses him or tickles a vanity that appears to grow with the gratification of each ambition, to figure as the Great Panjandrum of the Moderate party he is welcome to do so, so long as he does not abuse his official position. He was at pains to explain that co-operation between the Moderates and Extremists was impossible. Mr.Basu, with a twinge of conscience perhaps at the recollection of the days when he was in opposition, dissented from this view. What we wish to question is not whether such co-operation is possible or desirable but how far it lies in the mouth of a responsible official at the head of affairs, the prospective head of a province, to air his prejudices. The future may lie with the Moderates; but is that an excuse why the bureaucracy the spirit of which Lord Sinha has thoroughly imbibed, should on all possible and impossible occasions attempt to ensure that the present also should lie with that party? It would be the veriest mockery of self-Government if the official machinery is to be placed practically at the disposal of one party. What kind of democracy would there be in England if the Civil Service pledged itself to render impossible any Government except a Conservative one? The position may not be entirely analogous, but that is the logical outcome of

Lord Sinha's attitude. We have already seen the results of that attitude in action, results which it must be confessed are as embarrassing to the Moderates as they are irritating to the Extremists. Let our readers think of the policy filtering down to the district officers and minor officials and say whether our apprehensions are unfounded. Mr.Bannerjee called Lord Sinha the leader of the Moderate party. That was a misnomer. He ought to have said "patron". If we may take another suggestion, would it not be more honest of the party to bear that badge of patronage a little less shamefacedly and to change their designation into that of the "Official Party"? For whether the future is theirs of or not, the present is to be very much theirs or Lord Sinha and his official cohorts will know the reason why.

LEADER

From the Hindu dated 13th May 1920:

Colour prejudice.

In spite of all the pious wishes and innocent dreams of great idealists to make the world safe for Democracy and establish an Universal Federation of Nations on the basis of self-determination and full equality, the hard realities obtained in the various countries of the world seem rather to accelerate racial animosities and widen the gulf between the white and coloured inhabitants of the globe. The open refusal of racial equality to Japan in the League of Nations, the attempted effacement of the Ottomon power, the virtual subjugation of Egupt, Syria and Persia under the guise of protectorates, mandates and friendly treaties, and the actual political domination, of India, Africa and America as the result of exploitation, conquest and colonisation--all these monumental facts of history, past and present, must open the eyes of every thinking man to the enormous importance of the racial problem and the constant necessity of warning the statesmen of all countries against any careless or short-sighted handling of the Imperial and international questions of racial significance. Considered from this point of view the treatment of Indians in South Africa and other parts of the Empire transcends the level of merely Imperial problems, as the struggle for freedom by the Indians and natives of Africa within their own countries is also really invested with something more than a domestic importance. The racial inequality in India is no doubt not so pronounced as in Africa but the deliberate distinction maintained in some of the legal enactments and recruitments for service, together with the conscious or the unconscious prejudice in the general attitude of the average European towards his Indian brother is quite sufficient to wound his self-respect and provide occasions for many a legitimate complaint. In a communication to the "Daily Sketch" Mr.R.V.Selope-Thema, Secretary of the South African, Deputation, makes a spirited reply to Mr.Leo Walmsley's Article on the peril of a world-wide colour war. The whole point of

his reply centres round the crueld indignities inflicted on the African by the alien intruder, and the utter futility of all forms of constitutional protest to remove the humiliation and ameliorate the suffering. In the South Africa of to-day, under the civilized rule of the British flag the black man finds himself according to the writer, "dispossessed of his land, prohibited by law to buy, hire or lease land in the country of his ancestors, excluded from participation in the Government and affairs of the country, heavily taxed and barred from entering into all the channels that lead up the advancement and civilisation." The same is the story in British East Africa which has a native population of over 3 millions corresponding to a handful of 8,000 whites. As a writer in the "Nation" rightly remarks about such exploitations and colonisations, "It is the secular process of history, the purpose and result of most wars, and the origin of most aristocracies." The injustice does not however stop with the robbing of the land, but invariably extends to the direct or indirect enforcement of labour out of these helpless natives by drastic labour legislation and the creation of compelling necessities for earning their livelihood by work, as the result of increased poverty and taxation. To cover all these enormities there is also the convenient camouflage of promoting the welfare of the ignorant natives, the carrying out of the eternal trust --the white Man's Burden. And if any among the educated natives dare to question the trust, rebel against the tyranny or agitate for the ordinary privileges of a decent human living, the white man relies on his military superiority to suppress the awakening spirit thirsting for justice and liberty. What wonder then, asks Selope-Thema, that some of the educated black men, out of a broken heart that can no longer tolerate the exploitation of their motherland, have been forced to conclude that what the white man respects is not constitutional and peaceful appeal, but brute force--naked and shameless.

34

540

From the Hindu, dated 18th May 1920.

Reforms of Non-Brahmins.

A Manifesto.

Dr.P.Varadarajulu sends us the following manifesto signed by a number of prominent Non-Brahmins:--

We are extremely distressed to find that a grave political problem has quite unexpectedly presented itself for solution ~~has~~ by the Non-Brahmins of the Southern Presidency. And the solution should be prompt and command general approbation if we would avert danger to our own community, not to mention injury to the general causeof our country. The claim of non-Brahmins for representation in the Madras Legislative Council by the creation of a separate electorate was disposed of by the Joint Committee of Parliament by provision for a reservation of a definite number of seats for them. We need not here pause to discuss how far this arrangement would meet our requirements. Well, we proceeded to get at the figure fixing the proportion by amicable arrangements with out Brahman friends. We did not succeed in it. It would be quite futile to try to find out where the blame lies and in what degrees. We content ourselves with a statement that the failure of the two communities to reach a compromise created a grave problem of immediate practical politics affecting the interests of both the peoples.

But since the unexpected and disappointing verdict of Lord Meston on the subject, the situation has become exceedingly acute and grave. The more so, on account of the resolutions quickly passed by the Madras Presidency Association and the South Indian Liberal Federation. We distinctly desire to say now that the Non-Brahman cause could not have had better advocates than these two Associations. But we are unwilling to conceal from ourselves and we are sure that the leaders and thinkers among the Non-Brahmins throughout our Presidency do not conceal from themselves the disquieting fact that the resolutions to start a campaign to exclude the Brahmins altogether from the general electorate, passed by rapid judgment in a paroxysm of grief, is not and can never be a real and

enduring solution of the distressing problem, even if we confinex ourselves exclusively to the interests of the non-Brahmins, an impossible sectional position in any country and especially in India. The one question is what is the way out of this embarassing situation?

We venture to think that the solution is easy and feasible if we would apply ourselves to our work prayerfully, even in the exclusive interests of our community. We must not forget in any plan or programme we might form for the furtherance of our interests, the conditions and environment amidst which we are and amidst which we shall be ever bound to work. There are our ~~our~~ Moslem fellow subjects who are intensely co-operating with the rest of the Indians in the common noble aim to build up a united nation. They avow that in all their anxieties and even distresses as Mohammadans, they are Indians first and then Mohammadans. Can it be deemed noble, fair or prudent that the non-brahmins of Southern India should consider themselves bound by no ties to the other Hindus and other Indians? We are sure that our duty and our interests alike demand the clear recognition of the sacred principle that we are Hindus before we are ~~Hindus~~. Then there is the very disquieting fact that the "Moderates" have been the chief and formidable opponents of the Non-Brahmins in their endeavours to secure a separate electorate or a fair proportion of the seats while the "nationalist" Brahmins were throughout with us. It follows therefore that any plan we should think of should be such as would command approval and respect of the rest of our Indian fellow subjects of all classes and religions who have been in sympathy with us. Without such a sympathy there would be no use of getting a majority of non-Brahmins in the Legislative Council. We are clear, in all these circumstances therefore, that we should devise and adopt such a clear and definite plan for our immediate and permanent work as would secure our interests, as will show that we are not guilty of bankruptcy of statesmanship or injustice of even unfairness to Brahmins and the other Indians. We think therefore that the

X non Brahmins and Indians before we are Hindus.

only course open to us is to proceed to work on the principle of the Nationalist and Congress programme. Subject to securing the minimum of the 28 seats for the Non-Brahmins, we should work among ourselves to return to the reformed councils as many non-Brahmins as possible and with the rest of the Indians to secure the seats for the Nationalists only. This plan would give us the largest number of seats without exposing our methods to any objection, ethical or otherwise. No other device of programme would succeed or in our opinion ought to succeed. We are as satisfied as we are sure that all unbiassed thinkers--we mean, free from anger with every body on account of Lord Meston's awards--are satisfied that any arrangements we can think of for safeguarding our immediate and permanent interests should be in a thorough spirit of cameraderie and equity not only with our Brahmins fellow countrymen but also with the rest of the Indians. We are firm in our conviction that only in a perfect comity of the plan and programme by the struggling people of this country that the hope of salvation for all sections lies until in the fulness of time there shall be no need for special political arrangements on intercommunal and intersectional principles and there shall in consequence be no necessity for an intercommunal and intersectional code of ethics. Brethren! let us aim and act in such beliefs, so that we and our children for ever might be proud of us at this crisis.

37 546

LEADER

From the Hindu dated 19th May, 1920

The Truth about Non-co-operation.

Our ~~Anlgo-~~ Anglo-Indian contemporaries both in this Presidency and elsewhere, must be--and certainly are--aware that the principle underlying the proposal (or even the programme) of noneco-operation is neither anti-Government nor anti-British nor anti-foreign. And yet they are making a tremendous dead-set against it, as if somebody has started it in order to set not the Thames nor all the rivers of the world, only but the ocean itself on fire and deprive the British Government and Empire of the element ~~in the~~ on which their naval supremacy and predominance in the world depends. We propose to expose here the utter hollowness and artificially of their outcry and agitation against what they represent as a policy on the part of the Nationalist leaders which might lead to some unknown, but inevitable, evil or even disaster. The Government in India has often showed itself sensitively and keenly responsive to the demands, fears, or even the fixed ideas and abominations of the Anglo-Indian community. Hence, if Indians do not expose the utter baselessness of their calumnies and accusations against their leaders' measures or views, they are apt to bring upon themselves undeserved sufferings of all kinds, as we know from frequent experiences in our recent history. Government's apparent calm is almost always, on such occasions the precursor and symptom of the coming storm. It is a commonplace of politics that Government is a person ~~of~~ with sentiments, views, passions, prejudices and policies, similar in almost every respect to those of individuals. Though it exists only to accomplish the true welfare of the society in whose midst it exists, it often has to get into conflict with the latter by reason of its want of knowledge or sympathy with popular aims, desires, feelings or interests. History abounds in cases innumerable of such conflicts leading ultimately even to civil war. Civil Wars are invariably productive of intense and often widesprea suffering, and are also otherwise, sterile. But we learn from

history that, sometimes at least, they lead to beneficial changes in the machinery of Government, as a result of popular success in the conflict with the ruling power, and so the cause of freedom is helped on to a greater or less extent. If the popular cause wins, its leaders are acclaimed as heroes, martyrs and patriots; if it fails their names are execrated and descend to posterity as traitors, rebels and enemies of mankind. All this is nothing but copy-book of ~~xxx~~ political axioms, mere commonplaces of history. Yet the representatives of Anglo-Indian opinion and Anglo-Indian selfishness cry out loudly, and even the more sensible of them suggest, that the time has come for adopting the policy of "repression only by military intervention", even in South India. They are already condemning, in terms more or less unmeasured, what they call the unwise tolerance of the Government in permitting the Nationalists to carry on their agitation against the Indian Reform Act or on behalf of the Turks in Europe. The facts, however, is that no one word has been said, or one act done, anywhere or by any one. ~~But, already one act done, anywhere or by any one.~~ But already Anglo-India journals are profusely and loudly forecasting the "local disorders" and "the losses of life" that are going to occur everywhere, and without any practical benefit from them.

Whether we take the political programme of the Nationalists in the South, or even the more pronounced programme of Mr.Gandhi with its four successive steps, we do not see that there is any the least reason for supposing that there can be anything like "disorder" or trouble of any kind for any body within any measurable limits of time, or even such a rational development of the course of events, as will occur to men's minds, so long as they do not yield to the evil promptings of mischievous or foolish people who are moved in all they do by passion, self-interest, race prejudice or even personal vanity and love of ascendancy. Neither the Nationalists as a body, nor Mr.Gandhi and his personal followers, are likely to take one step in their programme of work

or agitation without being convinced of its absolute need and safety. Moreover, the Government is too argus-eyed not to know that they must both give and take warning when they see around them the signs and shadows of developing events. In no country in the world are revolutions or events leading to them, matters of common occurrences. In India, in especial, as a country accustomed to British methods of rule and with her own special antecedents and traditions, no section or party among the people are likely to transgress the well-known and beaten tracks of political progress or stray into unconstitutional or violent courses without any compensating benefits. We hardly see the propriety of the references which Mrs.Besant often makes to Ireland. The very size of British India is both for and against her in her struggle, for political advancement. Moreover, the Indian temperament is almost the reverse of the Irish in every respect that matters in such a struggle. Moreover, the Irish have advantages, within and without, which we can never hope for or count upon as factors which will count in the eyes of our rulers. Both the Nationalist party and Mr.Gandhi's followers are fully aware of these differences. Nor are the foes of India's cause ignorant of them. Hence, those who quote the Irish case and example know full well that they are actuated by self-interest to do so out of the adroit desire to be tactical in all their moves and suggestions. After all, the will of the Alimighty is irresistable. The forces which make for freedom are also everywhere found to be irresistable. Let those who combine against both know well that they cannot easily triumph against either or both of these mighty forces which make themselves felt in all the great crises of history when great causes reach their time of fruition. Let all, whether Anglo-Indians or Indians, know well that it is to the interest both of Government and the people in India that as the cause of freedom advances, the reason for "non-co-operation.", As a popular creed or cry

will cease, and no such developments of it as those already mentioned need be contemplated on one side, or anticipated with anything like concern on the other. Let them not, also, forget that non-co-operation, in most of its aspects is almost always a natural step in the realisation of national freedom and should not be regarded as in any way destructive of the existence of soceity or calculated to embarrass a well-intentioned and conciliatory Government.

EDITORIAL

From the Hindu dated 24th May 1920:-

The other day we published a telegram detailing how the Deputy Commissioner of Upper Sind seented danger in some of the prominent Khilafat workers of the province; information received since corroborates the account. Rasul Baksh Khan, a Zamindar and an old man, was brought to court on a warrant in connection with an alleged irrigation dispute, arrested under the Frontier Regulations and ordered to bind himself for good behaviour. Several securities offered in his behalf were rejected and he was presented with a 12 months' term for default. Another sardar, it is said, was sent for by the Deputy Commissioner, shut up in the Office and lashed with a whip. Another Moslem gentleman received a condign punishment in words and yet another was deprived of his profession by calling on courts not to accept any petition written by him. These instances of "strafing" were of course done on pretexts unconnected with the Khilafat work but the mask would appear none too opaque. Such methods never fail in their object and if the idea be to incite peaceful people into violence, no better way could be devised. And once a few individuals are somehow got to exceed limits it would be easy to proclaim a revolution and set about straight to "save the Empire". For Government an opportunity would be gained for crushing an inconvenient movement with the support of a large body of public opinion, and for our Moderate and Besantite friends, additional damnatory evidence against Mr.Gandhi--that miscreant who drove the Punjab "steadily into a vortex" of horrors--would be enormous. Whatever the fate of the khilafat and its votaries, the Moderates could count on a double victory--spitting those Nationalists, who show sympathy for the Moslems and earning the applause of the Government for their patriotic dissociation from the Knaves.

LEADER

From the Hindu dated 27th May 1920

WHITE WASH.

At last the Hunter Committee's report has seen the light of day and an apprehensive public has had its worst anticipations realised. It is whitewash pure and simple, an apologia for crimes that in other circumstances would have provoked floods of indignation from the very person who now attempts to gloss over the most serious breaches of the laws of humanity and civilisation. We publish elsewhere, the summary, presumably official, of the report with the despatches of the Government of India and Mr.Montagu thereon. One understands better now Mr.Montagu's congress in refusing to publish the Hunter Report earlier, for evaluation of evidence and the facility with which it jumps to conclusions unwarranted even by the facts that were presented to its contemplation, would not have borne the test of public scrutiny. His anxiety therefore to take action on the report before its publication arose, it is now clear, from a desire to shield the white washers from the glare of public criticism and to face the public, British and Indian, with the accomplished fact in the question of punishment. It is a pretty manoeuvre worthy of a past master in the art of political strategy, and not less worthy of one who sits at the feet of a Bremier and his simian prehensility in his attachment to the seats of the mighty has been the despair of his critics and a considerable addition to the gaiety of the nations. We believe we are doing no injustice to Mr.Montagu if we say that his action in publishing the report along with his despatch indicates an anxiety to draw the veil of finality over an unsavoury interlude--unsavoury not less in the manner of the enquiry than in the acts on which it presumed to pass unbiassed judgment. His despatch certainly reads better than the report, which is faint commendation perhaps, but is important as showing that where it suited his purpose Mr.Montagu, or to use the title employed in the despatch, "His Majesty's Government", was not squeamish about roundly disagreeing with the verdict

of the Committee. Our point is why if Mr.Montagu was convinced that the report was no unexceptionable at all points he did not wait for the additional illumination that public criticism upon the report would have cast upon the casebefore taking action, x the pitiful inadequacy of which is an ironic commentary both on his anxiety to vindicate British honour and on the virtuous indignation into which he has occasionally been moved in the Course of his despatch. Was he afraid that the British public--the Indian public of course does not count--would have demanded sterner measures against General Dyer than dismissal from his comman and banning him from further employment in India?

His despatch lays stress and rightly on the enormity of the offence but the determination of the punishment has been apparently tempered by the fact that General Dyer acted sincerely according to his lights. In other words he has ~~was~~ guilty not of a crime but of an "error of judgment". The insignificant details that the "error of judgment" cost between three and four hundred lives of men, women and children that about 2000 more were left, wounded in the field of carriage unattended to pass a night of agony, have apparently not modified the case in face of the fact that General Dyer was an honest and sincere man. On this question of "error of judgment" we shall have more to say later on, as well as upon the curious--there is no other word to describe them--despatches of Mr.Montagu and the Government of India. They have as usual tried to find a half-way house between the xx O'Dwyerian and the popular points of view and hence they are mainly concerned with justifying on the one hand and exaggerating on the other. All the documents raise important points which require careful consideration at the hands of the public. Concerning the report itself it presents certain remarkable features. It is not without significance that the difference in the points of view represented by the majority x and the minority reports--we should preferto designate them, as juster, the British and the Indian--

is continued into the Government of India and that the Hon'ble Mr.Shafi has felt compelled the press dissent on many vital points from the view taken by his colleagues. The Hunter Committee have enunciated a new theory of political jurisprudence they have discovered a new standard in the appraisement of massacres. In their eyes every disturbance is a rebellion, every measure is justified that achieves its immediate purpose and every murderer worthy of condonation if his motives are sincere. That the public expected nothing better of a Committee which heard only one side of the case and which virtually made it impossible for the people's case to intrude its unwelcome presence upon its consciousness, in no way affects out considered opinion that the European members of the Committee have lamentably failed of their duty. They have sought excuses where their business was to unequivocally condemn; but far more serious are the implications of the new standard of assessment that they have introduced, particularly on the questions of moral responsibility, necessary force, the obligations of humanity and the definition of open rebellion. We hope to deal with these indetail in subsequent issues but we are certain that there is no shade of Indian opinion which will accept the special pleading of the majority report, or indeed regard it as anything else than barefaced attempt to white wash that it is, in preference to conclusions of Indian members of proved judicial capacity and moderate views, reinforcing as these do in the main the conclusions arrived at, after monumental labour, by the Congress Sub-Committee. The Hunter Committee have betrayed a sacred trust at the call of racial fellow feeling in a manner that will provoke the bitterest resentment and indignation throughout the country.

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LEADER

From the Hindu dated 9th June 1920

The agitation in Britain against the admission of Indians in the Indian Medical Service in larger number has not yet died out. The MORNING POST laments that the Indian Medical Service has been ruined almost beyond repair by the excessive admission of Indians. "The ruin", says this apostle of Junkerdom, "has gone so far that no Englishman with any prospect of succeeding in England will care to go over to India." It is a stale theory that English doctors of the Indian Medical Service have come forward at the sacrifice of prodigious prospects at home and no amount of warming up will alter the fact that the majority of them have had only a Hobson's choice to pick up in India what they are unable to earn in England. The best of them have chosen service here on a balance of benefits and as these benefits still remain fat as ever, there is no reason why they should not continue to come. The essence of our contemporary's criticism is that as many posts as are given to Indians will be so many less to English aspirants to fortune. Our contemporary argues with more Chagrin than logic that the diminution of English doctors reacts on other departments on account of the Britihser's emphatic prejudice against placing his wife and children under an Indian's treatment. We are unaware of any casual relationship between a doctor's skin and the drugs he prescribes; we have to infer that this argument, with all its show of candour, means but to provide a false trellis for the advocacy of British preponderance in the service. The berths open to Indian medical ~~service~~ men are not even now very numerous and yet Junkerdom howls. We might say that if Indians be so poor in quality as to bring only ruin to the service, that ruin were preferable to a system of recruitment aimed to fill English pockets rather than to be of real service to us.

46 564

LEADER

From the Hindu dated 11th Juhe 1920:-

The interview of Mr.C.F.Andrews with a representative of the Associated Press, published elsewhere, throws much light on the gravity of the situationof Indians in East Africa and shows the existence of bitter racial feeling and hatred among the European settlers towards Indians. Love of exclusive privileges of colour pride have made the European settlers blind to reason and callous to the consequences of their hostile attitude. ~~The enunciation of their hostile attitude.~~ The enunciation of their "fold policy", that the Indians should not be admitted to the Franchise, that the Indians should not be allowed to hold land in the large upland districts and that there should be a complete segregation of races in all townships is not calculated to bring about any cordial relationship between the Indians and the Europeans on the soil of a third continent, secured for the Empire moreby the striking gallantry of the Indian soldiers than by the boastful pomp of the European advance. It is sad to reflect that, at a time when fraternity, equality and freedom form the texts of the sermon of European politicians before their flattering audience, cheering them with reason and without reason at frequent intervals, such an open manifestation of rancorous racial animosity is tolerated by far-seeing statesmen of the Empire. The Viceroy in his speech in the Legislative Council on the 30th January last spoke with sympathy and said that the status of British Indian subjects in the Crown Colonies and protectorates should be in no way inferior to that of any other of His Majesty's subjects. The statement made by the Viceroy demands that right of franchise and the claim to hold landed property of Indians in East Africa and any action taken by the Colonial office to ignore that demand of the Pro-consul of India will lead to an endless struggle for freedom and power between two sections of people of the same Empire, which it would of course, be the prudent policy of the Premier to avoid. As stated by Mr.Andrews Indians will be prepared to accept equality with the Europeans in the restrictions of

immigration provided equality of status with regard to trade, land and property and franchise is fully granted to them. The situation required careful and delicate handling.

From the Hindu dated 12th June 1920:-

The Elections and Non-co-Operation

Muslim Leaders' Attitude

Mr. Yakub Hasan wires from Bombay under date June 10:-

It is generally being asked that in view of the acute situation that has arisen in respect of the Khilafat what should be our attitude in connection with the elections to the Reformed Councils, the Assembly and the Council of State. We cannot foresee events that may take place in the near future, and cannot now, in anticipation of a certain contingency, abstain from participation in the election to the bodies which will only assemble in January next. I have consulted several leaders of the different provinces in this matter and we have come to the following conclusion:-

In countries where legislative bodies have been in existence for a long time, candidates always make their attitude on the burning question of the day the principal plank in their electioneering campaign and all parties in India are now following the same method. The Khilafat question is the one topic which occupies and will continue to occupy for some time the mind of the Mussalmans to the exclusion of almost all other questions. The electors are therefore sure to exercise their franchise in favour of candidates who have rendered the greatest service to Islam in a matter that vitally affects its very existence as an important world power and universal brotherhood. The candidates should give an undertaking to the electorates that if the Turkish Treaty is not substantially modified in deference to the wishes of the Indian Mussalmans, they will, as a protest refuse to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown and sit as members in the Council so that it may be demonstrated to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales when he opens the new Councils that the nation feels in regard to the Turkish Treaty.

I and my numerous friends and co-workers will support the candidature of those who have given and are prepared to give their best to the cause of the Khilafat in preference ~~to the cause of the Khilafat in preference~~ to those who are

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dx disposed to equivocate in this matter of national life and death. Several Hindu leaders, who have been co-operating with Mussalmans in all their efforts in this matter have approved of this line of action and are prepared to adopt it themselves in connection with the forth coming elections as they are convinced that a proper solution of the Khilafat question is of supreme national importance to India.

From the Hindu dated 15th June 1920

In South Africa

Repatriation Solution.

Mr. Gandhi's Warning.

Bombay, June 13:--Mr.M.K.Gandhi has issued the following to the Press:-

With reference to the approval that seems to have been accorded to the scheme of repatriation said to have been recommended by the South African Commission and accepted by the Union Government, I would respectfully caution the public against accepting the proposed scheme.

The Public have not the interim report of the Commission We do not know the conditions of repatriation. It seems to me therefore that it is most hazardous to venture any opinion at all on a scheme of which we have a most imperfect knowledge. Generally, it must be stated that any scheme of state repatriation must be looked upon with the gravest suspicion, especially when the scheme is fathered by those who are uncompromisingly hostile to Indian aspirations. The Indians of South Africa are able to remain in that country because of their domicile. I very much fear that the proposed scheme will be found to involve forfeiture of domicile against acceptance of repatriation money, that is, pasage to back to India and possibly a trifling sum as pocket money. I am so inclined to think that apart from everything else such considerations will be wholly insufficient for giving away a valuable right. I would hardly call any such repatriation as purely voluntary.

This however is one of the many objections that may be advanced against the proposed repatriation. I suspend judgment till we have the full scheme before us for examination. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will take the public fully into its confidence upon the scheme.

LEADER

From the Hindu dated 16th June 1920:-

The Religion of Massacre.

The Mail brings us the text of the carefully timed letter of the Archbishop of Simla, a catholic and an Irishman, on the Punjab disturbances. It is couched in language which must gladden the hearts of the most frenzied of "excited corporals" and "angry planters." We are loath to be severe on a man held in high esteem, and one who holds a high position in the Catholic hierarchy but when a man stoops to prostitute his authority to serve the ends of racial antagonism, condemnation must necessarily be outspoken. His letter is a tissue of false statements which every one who knows the facts will easily repudiate. The Archbishop was therefore well advised as was his fellow-Irishman and examplar Sir Michael O'Dwyer, to choose an atmosphere in which his lurid imagination could have play enough, without encountering the chill blast of informed criticism, to make the flesh of his readers creep. Here is how he launches on his extraordinary effort:--

"There arose an anti-whiteman movement of so menacing and widespread a character that, after murders of men, assaults on women, the wrecking of property, the civil administration felt unequal to deal with the situation in certain specified area Everyone conversant with Indian affairs knows that the civil administration was in the strongest and most capable hands that had ever ruled the Punjab. Men of this stamp are slow to acknowledge the situation is beyond them. When the military authorities were then called upon to deal with it, they naturally had to do so with the information at their command and not in the light of news co-ordinated six months afterwards. If they had hesitated, they would have failed, and failure would have meant the general murder of European men, the outraging of women, the loot of public buildings, and the desecration of Christian Churches."

He then goes on to tell the "whole truth" and enlarges on the enormity of the burning of buildings, "sacred and proflame" of the sufferings of English women waiting for the protection

of troops and of his own thoughts.--which he kindly leaves to the readers' imagination,--when "late at night, before going to bed, I felt it my duty to visit some adjacent schools, where there were nearly 300 girls, whose parents were hundreds or thousands of miles away." After this fine effort in the maudlin the Archbishop, whose sense of humour is evidently not his strong point, proceeds as follows:--"I have many Indian friends, high-minded, noble-hearted, men. I know the Indian people to be what an eminent statesmen once told me I would find them--a simple and affectionate people. But the sting of the letter is as usual in its tail:--"One thing is certain. If the present tendency to make a scapegoat of the white soldier amid a coloured race succeeds, the military authorities in the future may hesitate to act, and that hesitation will have consequences which no white man cares to contemplate." We have taken the trouble to quote from the letter at some length becaus that we wish to impress on our readers the lengths to which colour prejduice can be carried. Let us suppose the circumstanc reversed or that another Dyer had been called upon to deal with a similar situation in the Archbishop's own native island. We know what the conditions there are; the civil administration has entirely broken down; the country is in open rebellion and armed not with brick bats and match boxes but with more lethal weapons. No Englishman's or loyalist's life is safe and murders and outrages are of daily occurrence and they are the result, not of the sudden outburst of a mob-frenzy, but of a systematically planned campaign of extir pation. Suppose General Dyer is called to administer, say, Dublin or Cork under these circumstances. He hears of a prohibited Sinn Feinn meeting, swelled by an influx of pilgrims to worship at the shrine of some saint honoured of catholics. The saxon general arrives with a body of troops, blocks all the exits, makes no attempt to disperse the crowd but fires and continues firing into the thick of a fleeing and panic-stricken crowd. Would the Archbishop's apostolic blessing have been extended to that other Dyer then?

Would not rather his condemnation surpass in comprehensiveness the famous curse of his fellow Rheims? One has to exercise the greatest restraint in speaking of this ignoble exhibition of race-prejudice, for it is difficult to believe that any professing Christian, much less one who is the spiritual shepherd of millions in this country, should so far have forgotten the element of his Master's creed as to pen a document of this nature. The key-note is struck in the phrases, "white soldier", "coloured race," "which no whiteman cares to contemplate-" They show clearly enough why the abounding love of the Archbishop for the Indian impels him to exhort the Dyers and O'Dwyers of the future; "Go thou and do likewise." Christinaity is to be in the keeping of such prophets of the Anti-Christ. We prefer to think that the Archbishop does not represent any considerable section of the European Catholic clergy. If he does, the Church has advanced nothing since the days of Torquemeda and the Inquisition in its humanity. A more wholesale St.Barthalomew's is still an appropriate and entirely justified burnt-offering, but the gods have changed. Race has taken the place of religion.

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July 1, 1920. (Hindu)

LABOUR.

LABOUR IN PROCESSION.

A PROCESSION.

On saturday last a large concourse of labourers met near the Perumal Koil Temple near Egmore for the performance of religious rites to invoke the blessing of the deity on 5 labourers who had been sentenced to imprisonment during the recent strike in the Oil Companies and in the present strike in the Oakes and Company Limited. After the ceremonies the men were profusely garlanded and presented with silk upper cloths and dhoties by Labour Unions in Madras. The procession started from Egmore, passed along Poonamallee Road, Rundal's Road, and Basin Bridge and at last the First Line Beach and then to the usual meeting place in the Beach, Opposite the High Court. By that time an audience of about 10,000 labourers had come to the meeting over which Mr. G.Harisarvothama Rao presided. Speeches were made by Mr.V.Chakkarai, and Messrs. Subramaniam of the Madras Electricity supply corporation and Selvapathy Chetty spoke congratulating the men who had come out of prison on their sufferings for their brethren of the several Unions. Then the meeting terminated after which the procession was formed again and it streamed along in order thro' Tambu Chetty Street to the houses of the men at Rayapuram and Washermanpet. The procession was very orderly and was under the control of a dozen volunteers of the oil Companies and a Captain.

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July 2, 1920. LEADER. PUNJAB ATROCITIES.

" AN IMAGINARY REBELLION."

The Punjab tragedy of last year though it has already been the subject of enquiry by two independent commissions official and non-official is also worthy as a significant episode in the history of British rule in India, of the facile hand and literary workmanship of a contemporary historian. Pandit Pearay Mohan's book "An Imaginary Rebellion and How It was suppressed" dedicated to the sacred memory of the Europeans and Indians who died during the dark episode, presents in an unique form an account of the various stages and scenes thro' which the "Tragedy of Errors" came to be enacted in the Punjab. The book with its valuable appendices and supplementary chapters embodying martial law ordinances, notifications, judgments and proceedings in privy council besides those in the Imperial Legislative Councils and discussions on the Indemnity Act and applicability of martial law consists of about 1000 pages and numerous illustrations. According to the author the drama is divisible into five acts, the 1st act consisting of the events that led up to the disorders under the able and effective guidance of the principal actor, Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The second act opened on the 10th April at Amritsar with the murder of the Bank managers by the infuriated mob and consisted of scenes of riot arson blookshed and other disorderly acts at several places in theprovince, provoked if not actually engineered, in certain places by Police cunning. The third act, as the writer says, was by far the most bloody performance, consisting of horrible scenes of official bloodshed and vindicative lawlessness, both before, and after the proclamation

of maritial law. The 4th act of the drama played thro' the columns of the A.I. Press and on the floor of the Imperial Legislative Council and completed by Hunter's white wash was an exaggeration of the mob violence into a regular rebellion in order to justify the official excesses. As the Pandit rightly points out, the most important part of the drama is, as usual the 5th act which will be fraught with grave issues for the future Government of India. This last act, which is just begun shows the attempt of the people to bring the official offenders to justice and the counter attempts of the Government to shield them. The book which was undertaken in Dec. 1919 about the beginning of the 4th act, contains a full narrative of the 1st three acts and is worthy of careful study as coming from one who has seen the events with his own eyes, and heard the harrowing tales of suffering with his own ears from the very lips of those who have suffered.

Lala Lajpat Rai who has written a foreword makes some eminently note worthy observations on the lessons to be learnt from this bloody chapter of Imperialism in world's History. With the acuteness characteristic of him he rightly remarks" It has placed us in a position to visualise the barbaric possibilities of Imperialism run amuck.

Modern Indians had so well been inoculated with the serum of benevolent despotism as to make them forget that it is easier for a leopard to change its spots than for Imperialism to alter its true nature." Further on, he adds, "we were on the idea of British Imperialism being something quite different from other "isms" of the same character. Our

disillusionment began some 20 years ago, but it required an O'Dwyer and a Dyer and a Jallianwalla Bagh to compelete the process." Lajpat Rai is for putting the blame more on the system of Government in this country than on individual officers who are merely its paid instruments. According to him the blood of the innocents call not for vengence, but for putting forth every iota of our energy to get rid of the buracratic system of Government under which we are living, with hope placed in none but ourselves, and the conviction fully rooted in our minds that the question whether we will be treated in the future as men or as beasts of burden depends in a large measure on our own conduct and behaviour.

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July 3 1920.

KHILAFAT.

KHILAFAT NON-CO-OPERATION.

Mr. Shaukat Ali Wires from Bombay:--

Many questions have been asked of the non-co-operation Committee as to its expectations and methods to be adopted for beginning non-co-operation. The Committee wish it to be understood that whilst they expect every one to respond to their recommendation to the fully they are desirous of carrying the weakest members also with them. The Committee want to enlist the passive sympathy if not active co-operation of the whole of the country in the methods of non-co-operation Those therefore who cannot undergo physical sacrifice will help by contributing funds or labour to the movement. Should non-co-operation become necessary, the committee has decided upon the following as part of first stage.

1. surrender of all titles of honour and honorary offices.
2. Non-participation in Government loans.
3. Suspension by lawyers of practice and settlement of civil disputes by private arbitration.
4. Boycott of Government schools by parents.
5. Boycott of reformed councils.
6; Non-participation in Government parties and such other functions.
7. Refusal to accept any civil or military post in Mesopotamia or to offer as units for army especially for service in Turkish territories now being administered in violation of pledges.

8. Vigorous prosecution of "Swadeshi" including people at time of this national awakening to appreciate their primary duty to their country by being satisfied with its own productions and manufactuers. Swadeshi must be pushed without waiting for the 1st of August for it is an eternal [illegible]le of conduct not to be interrupted even wh[illegible] settlement ar ives. In order not to commit thems[illegible]ves people will refrain now from taking service either civil or military. They will also suspend taking Government loans new or old for the present. It should be remembered that non-co-operation does not

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8. commence before 1st August.

Every effort is being and will still be made to avoid resort to such serious breach with Government by urging His M- His Majesty's ministers to secure revision of the treaty which has been so universally condemned. Those who realise their responsibility and the gravity of the cause will not act independently but in concert with the committee. Success depends entirely upon disciplined and concerted non-co-operation the latter is dependent upon strict obedience to instructions, calmness and absolute freedom from violence."

The following is a reply to the telegram to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy by Mr. S. Ali regarding grant of passports for khilafat delegates proposing to proceed to Muslim countries.:--

"Your telegram 21st instant to private Secretary regarding grant of passports delegates Mesopotamia, Hedjaz, etc., Secretary state who was addressed has been reminded for reply."

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July 5 1920.

L E A D E R .

The decision to hold the special session of the Congress of Berhampore appears to have stirred ups, to however small an extent, the chronic question as to whether the town is Andhra or Oriya. A suggestion arose, from what quarter it is not known that the Andhras in inviting the Congress to Berhampore were playing a deep game in order to get the twon acknowledged as being in their "province". The Oriya association of the ~~department~~ district seems to have taken fright and demanded that the Reception committee or the Andhra P.C.C. should make a declaration to clear the point. The Telugus are in no mood, we are told to give up so soon their claim to call Berhampore a an Andhra town. The leaders of the two communities appear to wrangle over this question. To what heat the communal fight has develpped and whether it will grow into a definite breach of harmony, it is not easy to know. In the name of the exceptional circumstances under which the session is held we ~~ap~~ appeal to both communities to surrender self-interest and meet on a common ground. The problem of linguistic provinces, does not fall within the scope of the special congress which has been summoned for the sake of more urgent matters and it is idle not to call it by a stronger epithet, to force that question artificially into prominence. The situation created by the Turkish peace the Hunter report and the Reform rules is so crucial that all India, irrespective of differences of any sort should ~~write~~ unite to give the national verdict and devis devise the most suitable form of action. We grant the Andhra Oriya tug-of-war in Ganjam is a problem important in itself but in view of the larger issues before the country we hope the leaders of both communities will rise equal to the occasion and unite for the success of the special congress.

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July 6, 1920. LEADER. Punjab Atrocities.

When a few days back a writer in a capital blurted out that , if the Government dishonoured General Dyer the European community in India should raise a fund to compensate him, we were not disposed to think much of it, as the idea was too patently monstrous to gain adherents. In our simplicity we thought even the A.I. would recognised a limit to his defence of crime and injustice on the mere impulsion of kinship with the culprit. But we were mistaken. We find that A.I's apparently not content with all the loud propaganda of their organs in India and their friends in England, have started a "Dyer Appreciation Fund" with the object of presenting General Dyer with a Sword of honour and a substantial purse. These Britishers would almost seem to teach the world that it is worthwhile being a butcher of men. The most amazing part of the new move is that the promoters of the fund expect Indians to subscribe profusely for it. The President of the Ladies' Committee to the Fund writes in the Statesman we firmly believe that every Indian except the bitterly disappointed catilines is in heart as grateful to General Dyer as any European can be". Why Indians should be grateful to him she explains clearly enough in the sentence, " If some Indians refrain from help it will prove that they are better politicians than patriots." Can barefaced impudence go further? Was ever irony more sharp and bitter than in this appeal for Indian coin to honour a man that treated Indian lives worse than chaff? India however has made up her mind and knows what value to place on these croakings. If the insolence of jingoism has no limit, it may have to learn sooner or later, that there is a limit to India's patience.

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July 7 1920. LEADER. LABOUR.

To sit tight over labour when it appears to have been concerned, is not a policy which we would recommend to any employer of labour, much less to a large public utility concern depending for its sound conduct on a very large number, of men. But that apparently appears to be the policy pursued by some of the authorities of the M.&.S.M. Rly. Some time in March, it will be remembered, we referred to a representation to their superior authorities made by the permanent way gang coolies at Ponneri requesting an increase of wages, and some other concessions, by way of more holidays leave and soon. On the refusal of the authorities to meet with their requests the men struck work; and now it would appear the men have been dismissed, their requests to consider their modified demends calculated to meet the wishes of the authorities ignored, and new and retired hands enlisted to fill up the vacancies. We are unable to appreciate this vindictive conduct on the part of the authorities.

Were they prudent enough to take a long view of the matter, they would not have lost the splendid opportunity that presented itself to them to arrive at a settlement when the men were in a reasonable mood if they wish so to call it. Retired men, let them not forget, cannot hold good for long while little time is needed for new men to behave like, if not to become old men landing them sooner or later, in the same difficult position with which they were confronted when dealing with the old men. Nor can they ignore the fact that in cases like these, they ought not to rest satisfied with a make-shift arrangement presenting but outwardly an aspect of peace.

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The task on which the old men were engaged, the task of main-aining the permanent way safe and sound was a most responsible one a task requiring for its satisfactory fulfilment men of ~~matire ex/eros~~ nature experience and steadiness. To entrust it to raw or retired hands is to pay insuffiecient attention to the safety of the public. The wiser as well as the most just and expedient course, in all cases of labour, it seems to us is to effect a rapproachement with the men on strike the m moment they are in a tolerably reasonable mood. To placate them we hold, is not to, pander to wanton stubbornness; to flout them is to court ultimate disaster.

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July 19 1920. LEADER.

The other day we commented on the Tanjore assault case in which Mr. Jackson was awarded Rs. 50 for whipping blood out of a telegraph peopn. We have now received details of a similar, if in some respects more unendurable, instance of a European venting his ire upon an Indian with impunity. Mr. Reed, a tea planter in Silchar made immoral overtures to a coolie girl Hira by name while she was plucking tea leaves. Meeting with a rebuff he applied to her parents, but was disappointed again. After a week he went over and time in the night and askd the girl's father, to let her accompany him to his bungalow. The parents raised a hue and cry whereupon the planter fired his revolver mortally wounding the father. The case was tried by a jury of 5 Europeans, four of them planters, and the fifth a merchant. The defence story said that the accused had lost his way while deer hunting but regained it near the girl's house and in his joy exclaimed "here road" to himself. The cooly folk mistook the interjection for "Hira" and thinking the European was calling the girl, began to throw stones at him. To frighten them away the planter fired on the ground and by sheer accident, the bullets struck the girl's fathers. On such flimsy defence ridiculous but for its serious upshot, and discredited by the evidence of the medical officer and the Police Superintendent the jurors returned a verdict of not guilty. The case illustrates not merely the obduracy of racial prejudice but the iniquity of a law that gives it sanction. Europeans in India have the privilege of being tried by a European jury while Indians must submit to any panel appointed by the court. It can hardly be denied that the distinction facilitates to a certain extent the perpetration of such crimes by the possibility of expecting an acquittal at trial. If not theinspirer of such offences, the privilege at least justifies them after the

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event and there was scarcely an example of an European jury in India condemning a white man in their adjudication. And that is British justice!

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July 24, 1920.

THE INSULT TO INDIA.

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

A MESSAGE TO INDIA.

London, July 21 .

On the afternoon following the close of the Dyer debate in the Lords, I asked Dr. Rabindranath Tagore what he thought of the situation. Speaking with the deepest emotion, he said he thanked our friends who braved the wrath of their countrymen and courted failure by chivalrously championing the cause of our unfortunate country,. But he felt grieved and insulted at the unashamed condonation of a brutal outrage by the very class from which out rulers are recruited. This makes us, he said, realise the futility and humiliation of relying for any boon of any value from those who hold us in contempt. Only by removing the inner sources of weakness, organising our social, educational and economic life can we rise out of our present depth of degradation.

Be prepared for many sacrifices, to undergo suffering for the common cause. Sink differences of all kinds. Promote the spirit of concord and co-operation. The present shock of dis-illusionment if accepted in the right spirit will prove a b-blessing in disguise and form the basis of a new era of a career of national self-respect spiritual emancipation and material progress. Only by freeing ourselves from the spirit of dependence and mendicancy, casting out fear and guarding ourselves against the wasteful destruction of impotent anger, and vengeful resentment can we rise to the true measure of greatness.

August, 21, 1920. LEADER.

DEATH OF BALAGANGADHAR TILAK.

Mr. Tilak is dead. The sorrowful news must cause a consternation and cast a gloom all over the country. In all Indian hearts which contain a spark of patriotism and a glimmering of truth in regard to the fallen fortunes of India, the death of its most valiant champion in whom was symbolised all that was best and greatest of India's past culture and greatness and the rich fulfilment of its glorious future must cause a heart wrench of no common kind. . . . . . There have been persons on whom the stupidity of an official has conferred an easy and not too inconvenient martyrdom. These have flashed into popularity heroes of an hour and then sunk into well-deserved obscurity. Mr. Tilak's position rested on no such insecure foundations. Of persecution he had his fill. But while persecution may make martyrs it cannot make leaders and certainly not leaders with the unquestioned authority that Mr. Tilak could claim.

The motives of other leaders have been questioned, perhaps often unjusty by a too suspicious public. The feeling that a powerful and unscrupulous burucracy is always ready to carry division and dissension into the popular camp has often conduced to over suspiciousness, Mr. Tilak has always stood far beyond the faintest breath of suspicion as to his motives. The cause of the people brought him into contact with many shifting and shifty fellow-workers. He has been landed to the skies and abused with virulence alternately by a school of politicians who are more intent on securing their position as leaders than on serving the country. He survived both praise and blame. Officialdom pursued him in a vandetta

~~the bitterness of~~

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the bitterness of which passed description. That too he survived because no amount of persecution could break his unflinching spirit. He emerged from each ordeal with the flame of patriotism burning the brighter.. . . . . He was of unique value in the development of Indian nationality Act is perhaps destined to be the ~~kix~~ most pregnant in the hisotyr of India. It marks the development of a national consciousness that in its fulness promises to repeat the ancient glories of India's past. In the cultivation of that frasile plant many have laboured but ~~more~~ none more assiduously and single heartedly than Mr. Tilak. With him popular agitation was not a stepping stone to bureaucratic favour and he was a stern and determined critic of the group which concealed faint heartedness under the cloak of moderation. Action was his duty and the specious fruit the Dead Sea Apples so temptiingly displayed as a bait, left him indifferent. It was in this clarify of vision and uncomprom sing devotion to his ideals that the bureaucracy found its greatest stumbling block. Mr. Tilak's death leaves a void that would be difficult to fill in days when politics is a scramble for loaves and fishes. Especially will his influence and counsel be missed at the present time when the country is faced with questions of great moment.

August 12, 1920.

LEADER.

The game of vindicating British honour and sense of fair play goes merrily on. The latest of the plethora of instances is in the policy which according to a special cable to the Bombay Chronicle was announced by the Governor of British East Africa on August 9. We quote the text of the message. "Governor announced to-day Indian policy; franchise only two members; strict segregation upheld; limited faiclities; land low lands only; education, to be improved; railway policy upheld; jury to be experimented; immigration unchanged." That is the policy to which Lord Milner alluded in eloquent meetings as meeting the just claims of all parties. Habituated as we are to the peculiar ideas of justice of Junker Imperialists Lord Milner must have required all the assurance of his "Consequences be d-d" mentality to characterise the policy as meeting any body's just claims. The policy represents another of those surrenders to racial prejudice with which country has been to painfully familiar. High thinkin and mean acting go so happily hand-in-hand in this best of all possible empires that one is loath to disturb the harmony, but we do feel impelled to suggest that "strict segregation" is hardly consistent with the declaration of Lord Milner " that there is no question of compelling Indians to dwell in any particular locality." shades of stiggins and chadband !

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Aug.25.1920. LEADER. NON-CO-OPERATION.

At the meeting of the Madras P.C.C. yesterday evening the discussion on the programme of non-co-operation was resumed, a resolution accepting the principle and policy of non-co-operation having been carried at a previous meeting. The discussions ranged round the questions as to whether the programme of non-co-operation proposed by Mr. Gandhi should be accepted or the subject matter should be left for decision to the special congress. The latter point was brought forward as an amendment to a resolution comprising the former. The amendment that the subject be deferred to the special congress for discussion was defeated by a narrow majority, viz., by 23 votes to 21. There is no doubt that the amendment was in general conformity with the sense of the meeting as with the opinion of the majority of the Congress Committees in the country. The curious feature of the voting and the amendment was that members who were entirely against the principle and policy of non-co-operation and voted against the resolution accepting the same, such as Mrs. Besant Mr. G.A. Natesan and others, took part in voting against the amendment and were able to contribute to its rejection though by a small majority. When the resolution regarding the programme of non-co-operation as proposed by Mr. Gandhi was next taken up it was likewise rejected the voting being 11 for and 19 against. Mrs. Besant Mr. G.A.Natesan and other members of the Moderate party evidently found that their enthusiasm for the cause of non-co-operation had evaporated by that time and they abstained from voting. Those who were not for Mr. Gandhi's programme in its entirety and who supported the amendment deferring the matter to the special Congress had to and did vote against

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the resolution, and it was rejected. A poll was demaneded of both the resolution and the amendment and was taken.

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August. 31. 1920.

Our readers will remember the correspondence between Mr. Montague and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu regarding the latter's public reference to the stripping, flogging and insulting of Indian women during the Punjab episode. A Reuter cable published everywhere discloses what the Government of India has to say about these facts, which are recorded in the congress enquiry report,. The women who gave such evidence were, according to the Government prostitutes belonging to certain tribes; their statemensts were absolutely false and prompted by revenge against those that deposed for Government. The country certainly knows how to treat this version of the facts, but what we have to remember is the characteristic circumbience with which the Government arranges its publicity. The shameful stories of ill-treatment of women were reproduced in the Indian Press as soon as they were published by the Congress enqiury committee., and when they got a 2nd round of repetion when Sir W.Joynson-Hicks disturbed the equanimity of Mr. Montagu by a reference in Parliament. Now all these cries for truth and justice were ignored by the Government of India, which now whispers a tale into Mr. Montagu's ears, and he transmits the information by letter for the solace of sir W. Joynson-Hicks. So then the controlling authority has investigated the Local Government has reported and the member of Parliament who was anxious for the honour of women should have no reason but to be satisfied. It is satisfaction all round ! As to the victims of insult well, those that complain still only reveal their stupendous lack of humour.

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73

618

September, 4, 1920. LEADER. LABOUR.

It is highly regrettable that the Oilmen's lockout should continue still creating considerable hardship to the people using kerosene oil and petrol besides throwing large numbers of workers out of employment for no fault of their own. The circumstances leading upto the present deplorable position were described in detail in a communication to the press published in our columns the other day. If the facts set our there are correct we are inclined to think that the position taken up by the employers is a crying scandal and the present unfortunate state of affairs could have been averted if the oil companies had only accepted the award of the court of Enquiry as they originally intended to do. The companies will under no circumstances, find justification for flouting the suggestions of the court of enquiry, that they should resort to an arbitration by1the Labour Commissioner; when ever there were differences of opinion and no strike or lock out should be resorted to without a reference to him. Evidently the Labour Commissioner has provoked the wrath of the employers by not rendering himself as the expected exponent of their views and the inevitable result of his action is that his position is made unenviable. It will not be in the interests of the Public and the harmonious working of the employers and the employees if the Oil Companies should persist in prolonging their defiant attitude. To continue the loc-out ignoring the award, will only further exacerbate Labour and tend to perpetuate mutaal difference. We think it is high time that the Government paid earnest attention to this matter and brought about a satisfactory settlement.

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620

September , 7 , 1920. LEADER. LABOUR.

We note with regret that the Oilmen's lockout still continues with all its attendant miseries. The Oil companies have not yet chosen to justify the modification of the Award. There attitude it is said has been the root cause of the present trouble. To add to the suffereings of the employees the city Police, in their restless activity are said to be causing petty annoyances to the employees. The President of the Oil Worker's Union has brought to our notice certain cases of police interference which, if the allegations are true, would create an unplesant situation. In the absence of any violent or unlawful methods of agitation we see not good reason why the police should take sides and cause extra suffering to the employees. In the constitutional struggle between the capitalists and the laboureres only peaceful settlements by competent authorities will ease the situation We trust the Commissioner of Police will issue such instructions to his officers and subordinates as would save the poor employees from unlawful and unnecessary teasing by persons who are expected to maintain law and order.

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September 10. 1920. Leader.

MR. GANDHI'S GESTURE.

It is perhaps more India's misfortune than Mr.Gandhi's fault that he should be possessed of a mind so mercilessly logical. Prepared himself for the greatest of sacrifices, it is open to question whether he does not impose upon his following conditions the rigour of which is greater than it can bear. The strength of a claim is not in its strongest but in its weakest link. That is precisely why we have so often insisted on the necessity for hastening slowly in the matter of Non-co-operation the need for preparing the ground by vigorous propaganda and for making a beginning with steps that are likely to find acceptance by the majority of the people. That is the sum total of the "betrayal" of which so much capital is made in the Besantine and Moderate Press. These more royalist than the king, would have us "go the whole hog" or repudiate non-co-operation and pretend to find in Mr. Gandhi's programme the irreducible minimum of non-co-operation. By what abstruse interplay of mathematics, and logic they arrived at this conclusion it is not given us to know but that is the basis on which they have built up elaborate charges of unsincerity hypocrisy and cowardice against the nationalists. These charges are too contemptible for refutal and we need not waste space over them. In particular the boycott of the Councils seems to be regarded as the touch stone to distinguish true non-co-operation from the false. Having accepted the boycott Mr. Gandhi has added to his many saintly qualities the superfluous virtue of consistency while those pestilential nationalists who presumed to thrust

their unwanted presences into the Moderate parties have promptly branded themselves as canting hypocrities. That is a comforting reflection but we venture to question its entire accuracy. It is not the Nationalists who have left Mr. Gandhi; it is Mr. Gandhi who has outstripped his panting erstwhile followers. His merciless logic carries him from position to position and as he expounds his scheme one becomes aware of implications that few thinking politicians will agree to consider practicable. First he was popularly understood to advocate Non-co-operation as a means to secure redress for the grievous wrongs of the Punjab and the Khilafat. At this stage the movement was in the nature of a protest. It was to be non-violent and non-coercive. His idea was enthusiastically taken up all over the country. From that position Mr. Gandhi advanced one stage further. His aim was to bring about complete paralysis of the Government. From that to the advocate of Swaraj and the ending of the British connection was but a step and now we are left wondering whether non-violence is to be a permanent feature of the movement. We are constrained to this doubt by the following passage from his speech in the congress:- If I have the choice of the honour of the Punjab and therefore of the honour of India, and I have to choose between temporary chaos, anarchy, neglect of literary training of my children, closing up of courts and therefore temporary disorder and shutting out of legislative activity, and of the British connection I will choose the former."

Does Mr. Gandhi seriously think the movement will retain its outstanding characteristic of non-violence concurrently with chaos, anarchy and disorder. For our part we do not think

the British connection is sacrosanct and have not hesitated to say so. We entirely agree that a pitiful mockery of justice has been done for the Punjab wrongs; nor are we unmindful of the lacerated religious feelings of our Muslim fellow country-men. There is no divine right about the British connection. If India is held by the sword it is her right to free herself by the sword. ~~If she is not she has a right to be sword.~~ If she is not, she has a right to be treated on a status of equality. When she feels she has not been so treated, she is justified in repudiating the British connection. But it is one thing to say "We shall not co-operate with you. You may coerce us but you will not get willing service from us till you change your mental angle of vision." It is an entirely different thing to say:-- "We are going to make your existence im - possible. We are going to be independent of you and to stand by ourselves among the nations of the world." The former represents Mr. Gandhi's first attitude and the latter his present one; at any rate it epitomises the views held by the contending parties in the special congress. If we may take an analogy from history the relative situation is akin to that between the Irish Nationalists and Sinn Fein. The former refused to accept office and carried obstruction to a fine art. And yet their non-co-operation was not of that extreme order which refuses to recognise the good points and actions even of your opp-ressors. Whether their policy was not less effective than that of Sinn Fein is open to argument. They at any rate by their very futility paved the way for Sinn Fein. If we understand Mr. Gandhi aright he advocates the Sinn Fein's attitude but not its methods. Reprehensible as those methods are they at least have effected as near as possible an approach to that complete para-lysis of Government which Mr. Gandhi hopes to bring about.

That has been going on for near a decade and and the British Government has not yet surrendered. Yet Mr. Gandhi expects to sign the terms of a victorious peace in the course of a year. If this calculation is right there is every possible justification may every need, for the most intensive form of Non-co-operation If as we believe, victory is a matter not of months but of years then there is every need for caution. We advocate a campaign; Mr. Gandhi advocates a forlorn hope. According to our plan we cannot afford to leave untried and untested every possible means to the end in view. We shall not throw the genuine sympathy felt for us by British Labour and other large classes back in their faces for the crimes of their servants. Nor shall we neglect opportunities to harass the bureaucracy in deference to false notions of logical consistency or to avoid the charges so freely scattered about, of hyprocritical self-seeking. We are glad therefore, that in spite of Mr. Gandhi's triumph in the special congress there is nothing in the nature of a mandate enjoining abstention from the Councils.

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September 11, 1920.

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Mr. C.P.Ramaswamy Iyer, B.A., B.L., writes:-- The account of the proceedings, reprinted in last evenings issue of the "Hindu", of the A.I.C.C. that met after the special session of the Congress, and one or two sentences in the "Hindus" leading article headed "Mr. Gandhi's Gesture" raise questions of such far reaching importance that I need no excuse for trespassing on your columns.

It will be remembered that the special session of the Congress over ruling all amendments, has passed a resolution tendering advice to all candidates not to seek election and to voters not to go to the polling booths. We find that after the Congress had been dissolved a meeting of the A.I.C.C. was convened for the purpose of effectuating the resolution regarding the boycott of councils. Indeed the A.I.C.C. being the Executive of the congress could do nothing else. But in bringing the proceedings of that Committee to a close the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya expressed his whole hearted dissent from the resolution of the Congress and evinced his determination to remain within the congress but at the same time to seek election to the Council. Mr. Kasturi - Ranga Iyengar felt relieved to hear such a statement and Mr.- Gandhi left the members free to act or not to act on the resolution of the congress according to their convictions and conscience.

It is a pity that no resolution was passed by the A.I-C.C. giving effect to these ideas so that at present there there is no official record of these opinions. Moreover it is clear that different interpretations are put on the resolution itself because news is just to hand that Mr. C.Vijia Raghava

Chariar has withdrawn his candidature. Nevertheless, it is the duty of men of my way of thinking to express their gratitude to the leaders of the Congress for the attitude they have taken. Both Mr.Lajpat Rai and Mr. Gandhi have enunciated the principle in their speeches that the Congress is not a party organisation but a national one. In the next place it is now made perfectly clear that in the opinion of some of the most prominent congressmen, a minority is at liberty to disregard or even act in derogation of the advice of the Congress and in pursuance to the dictates of its own conscience, whilst remaining within the Congress fold.

It is not my purpose now to ask whether the renunciation of titles the acceptance of social amenities and the other parts of the programme which are of xxxx an equally advisory character with the boycott of the councils can be treated in the same manner. But I make bold say that if the policy which is now enunciated has been pursued with regard to those who dissented from the Delhi and Amritsar resolutions, there would have been much greater cohesion and consolidated strength behind the political movement.

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September, 11, 1920.

Leader.

THE POLICE AND LABOUR.

Yesterday we published one version of the regrettable disturbances yesterday at the B.O.C. premises in connection with the oilmen's dispute. Two of our local contemporaries publish versions so entirely contradicting ours that we feel that nothing but an impartial enquiry can ducidate the truth. There are however one or two features to which we desire to draw prominent attention. The first is the indifference of Government in a matter which is rapidly approaching the proportions of a grave labour crisis. A general strike is being threatened and if it materializes will naturally add immensely to the anxieties of the public. A little judicious interference on ~~th~~ the part of the Government earlier might we are inclined to think, have averted much of the exasperation to which the prolongation of the struggle has given rise. We respectfully suggest that it is better to prevent a conflagration than to wait till it becomes unmanageable and then make frantic efforts to put it out. From what we know of the temper of labour to-day it is one of suspiciousness all round and a determination to get its due. Government cannot neglect its duty because this or that body refuses to co-operate with it. The 2nd point to which we draw attention is the attitude of the police. The metropolitan police enjoys a high and in our opinion deserved reputation in comparison with the police forces of other cities in respect of its general treatment of the public. It is our deliberate opinion that incidents such as occurred yesterday will go far to take away from that reputation. We shall not enter into the facts of the case because the versions contradict each other flatly. But even accepting the more favourable version we cannot see that the police behaved with the tact that

82

636

~~one was led to expect. They were apparen~~

one was led to expect. They were apparently on the point of firing and only the disposal of the crowd prevented an emeute. No one who knows anything of the psycology of a Madras Crowd would for a moment entertain the idea that firing could possibly be required to disperse it. We must also strongly deprecate the habit, a favourite one in Madras.of mounted policemen riding down a crowd. We cannot think of anything more calculated to turn a peaceful crowd into a violent one nor one more futile if a crowd is really bent on mischief. We must lastly draw attention to the action of a police officer who fired his revolver though luckily without effect, without waiting for orders, because a stone was thrown at him. If the impression gets abroad as it appears already to have done that the police are taking sides with the employers, their task will be rendered far more difficult and we hope both the chief of the city police and the Government will bear in mind how essential it is for the police to preserve an attitude of absolute neutrality.

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September 13, 1920.

CONGRESS AND NON-CO-OPERATION.

The passing of Mr. Gandhi's resolution by the Congress has created a situation of considerable difficulty and is bound to cause much searching of heart among people whose loyalty to the Congress is perhaps as genuine as that of the stern cove-banner who have rallied under the banner of Mr. Gandhi. An accute situation has been beedlessly complicated, we are afraid by suggestions of bad faith which have been enthusiastically taken up by the enemies of the Nationalists the result being an unnatural offensive alliance bet those who think Non-co-operation will lead the cuntry into ruin and those who think it an immediate remedy for all the ills the country is suffering from. It is only natural considering the depth of resentment in the country over the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs that the more heroic remedy should make a greater appeal to the heart than counsels of caution. What we cannot understand is why those to whom non-co-operation is anathema should urge the country to take the more extreme course. To such a pass has the desire to "expose the Nationalists brought them. Leaving the new alliance to work out its own destiny, we shall try to define the attitude of the Nationalists tentatively. We must in the 1st place point out that though we do not consider the resolution of the Congress as mandatory in as much as it only recommends a certain course, still there is a certain moral authority behind it unless public life is a farce and the cohesiveness of the congress is to be destroyed. The elimination of centrifugal tendencies from the Congress is a consideration that ought always to be borne in mind by every true congressmen,. There must be nothing in the nature of a split as distinct from inevitable differences

of opinion such as was created by the Moderate conference and by the creation of organisations not affiliated to the Congress. Mr. Gandhi has made it perfectly plain that the non-acceptance of a particular policy does not preclude a man from calling himself a congressman. Mr. C.P.Ramaswamy Iyer in a letter to us which we published on Saturday has plausibly attempted to identify the position of the nationalists who do not accept Mr. Gandhi's programme with that of the Moderates who did not accept the Amritsar mandate, and complained that the latter were unjustly ostracised by the Congress executive. What measure was meted out to the Moderates, we are prepared to accept ourselves. Nationalists who stand for the council cannot in our opinion expect support from any congress organisations. These last in our opinion, exist for the purpose af carrying the policy of the Congress and there is no place in them for any one who is not prepared to aceept that policy. We publish elsewhere announcements of resignation of their offices in the Madras P;C.C. of the president two Secretaries and two members of the Executive Committee. Having made so much clear we turn to the question of how far a nationalist is morally bound to take a course of action of which he disapproves because the congress recommends it. On this point we must confess frankly we are puzzled. It must be remembered that Mr. Gandhi's programme consists of certain definite steps which the boycott of councils is in our opinion the least important though the suspiciousness of friends and the vicarious enthusiasm of enemeis has lifted it into a position of a kind of acid test of sincerity. There is the giving up of practice by lawyers and the withdrawal of children from schools. Mr. Lajpat Rai, a man beyond reach even of New-India's spacious suspiciousness has condemned these steps most unequivocally. We feel, and we are sure a little

85

642

reflection will convince all but a few fanatics that these proposals are not only fanatastic but positively suicidall. We cannot think of a surer way of committing national suicide than to deny the rising generation, an education, however imperfect. Here it is not merely a question of expediency. It is a question of conviction. Thus of the three steps enumerated we condemn one as positively suicidal the other as impracti-

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and the third as unadvisable. And yet the congress has

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mmended them and it will be for each man to decide h

can pursue the course recommended within the limits

Swadesamitran

hand of his conscience and his solicitude for the

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ress successful politics consists in judicious though

slavish subordination of the individual to the general will majorities are not always in the right; but it is politically convenient except when individual convictions admit of no compromise to assume that they generally are.

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September 14 1920.

Non-co-operation.

MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

RESIGNATIONS FROM THE EXECUTIVE.

Mr. S.Kasturiranga Iyengar has addressed the following letter to the members of the P.C.C. Madras:--

"Gentlemen I hereby beg to tender my resignation of the office of president of the Madras P.C.C. and I trust it will be accepted as early as possible."

Mr. A.Rangaswzmy Iyengar B.A.B.L., editor "Swadesamitran writes:--

"After giving my most careful consideration to the terms of the resolution on Non-co-operation of the Special Congress from which I dissent I feel it my duty to tender my resignation of my office as a member of the Executive Committee of the Madras P.C.C.

Mr. S.Satyamurthi B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, writes:-

I have come to the conclusion after mature deliberation that I would not be in a position in the Madras P.C.C. to carry out the resolution of the Calcutta congress on Non-co-operation. I should tender my resignation of my office as Secretary of the Madras P.C.C..

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19th October 1920. LEADER.

An interview with Mr. C.F.Andrews on the present political situation is published elsewhere and we commend it to the amiable persons who affect to see "roses, roses all the way" We have had occasion time and again to point out that all the troubles in the Punjab, in South Africa, in the Kenya Colony and elsewhere trace themselves to the greed of power the lust for wealth and above all the arrogance of racial pride of Britishers. We have been told that we are too pessimistic at the threshold of a shining era. Mr. Andrews is not one whose opinion suffers by participation in the squabbles of everyday politics; and he has a high reputation for fairness sympathy and impartial observation. When therefore he calls the idea of self-government within the Empire mere comoublage and too small and ideal for present day India the words fall with telling effect. In the light of his experience in various parts of the Empire he dismisses the talk of a new fraternity as unalloyed cannot and is convinced that the animus against the Indian now so much in evidence everywhere is growing worse and is hard of cure in the near or distant future. Mr. Andrew's analysis of causes is even more illuminating than his statement of facts. Faith in brute force engendered by the war and the feeling of "Whitemanity" deepening to something like a religion are in the view of Mr. Andrews, the determining elements of the Englishman's mentality. In an Empire where these pervade Mr. Andrews sees no possibility of equal treatment for Indians and would wish that India made complete independence her goal. A situation that makes Englishmen themsleves think in this strain must speak for itself; and yet we have men among us to preach sermons on cordiality and co-operation . Mr. Andrew's conclusion that there is a decided deterioration

of British morale ought to disabuse those who still swear by the good intentions of England and of Englishmen. The humiliation in the Punjab and in the colonies has taught India something which a 100 Reform Acts of last year's type cannot wipe out. The only remedy is as Mr. Andrew suggests, to make a united and steadfast stand at once and in such a way that England will be forced to give all power that we want in our own hands.

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20th October 1920.

THE CONGRESS AND NON-CO-OPERATION.

Mr. Satyamurthi's views.

Mr. SaSatyamurthi, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil Madras sends us for publication the following article in which he explains his views on the several times of the non-co-operation programme accepted by the Congress.

Why I Resigned the Secretary-ship.:-

My reasons for resigning the Secretary ship of the Madras P.C.C. one twofold. First I differ radically from certain important items of the programme outlined in the special congress resolution on Non-co-operation. Those differences I gave my expression to in my speech at the Congress and I stick to that opinion now. Secondly the attitude of those who are pledged to carry out the full programme in this city is by no means such as to encourage those who had differences with them. I refer to some of the speeches of some of these propagandists in the mofussil where they seem to make a point that those of us who differ from the programme are keeping back out of want of courage at a critical time, while the fact is quite otherwise. Also at the meeting of P.C.C. there were impatient expressions at the unavoidable delay in the return of our answers to the request of the P.C.C. to reconsider and withdraw our resignations. The A.I.C.C. met on saturday 2nd instant we left Bombay on sunday and returned to Madras on Tuesday submitted our resignations on Thursday and yet there were complaints made of our unconscionable delay in not deciding earlier.

MY ATTITUDE TOWARDS NON-CO-OPERATION.

I look upon Non-co-operation not as an end itself but only as a means to an end viz., the attainment of immediate Swaraj by India. For that object I am prepared to use and advocate the use of all honourable just and manly means. I do not think we can adopt Non-co-operation to its logical lenths. We cannot boycott railways which yield a substantial source of revenue to the state or the posts and Telegraphs or salt on which the Government has a monopoly and which everyone of us has got to consume. Therefore we have to draw the line somewhere and I suggest that the line ought to be drawn so as to cause the minimum of inconvenience to our people and the maximum of inconvenience to the bureaucracy.

Items in the Programme.

On the specific items in the programme viz., boycott of schools law courts and of councils I will state my opinions very briefly. I am wholly against boycott of schools and colleges. I grant that the present education is defective but some education is better than no education at all Further we cannot have national institutional for the millions of boys and girls to be withdrawn for the mere asking. If so where are the schools for the millions who have no schools to go to? . . . .

Boycott of Law courts by Lawyers:--

I consider this item of the programme is also undesirable, impracticable and ineffective for the attainment of Swaraj. Barristers notwithstanding most lawyers live by their

professions and have no other means of livelihood and I for one would suggest not that they should give up their profession and live on public charity. Moreover if an innocent man is accused I can not see the justification of a lawyer refusing his services to defend the innocent person nor can I conceive that the legal profession is worse than many other professions for example, the mercantile profession. I quite agree that arbitration courts and national schools should be established. .

Boycott of Councils:--

If an entire or even a substantial boycott of the Councils can be brought about I shall be delighted because that will mean that this Reform Act will be still ~~form~~ born; but as a practical man I think considering the time at our disposal the boycott of councils is not a business proposition. Then if the Councils are going to be full of members I would respectfully ask my countrymen what kind of men do they want there? Is it mot much better than independent far-sighted, patriotic and selfless men should be rather than flunkeys and offices and title hunters? I was for boycott of the Reformers at an early stage. With Mr. C.Vijiaraghavachariar, S.Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and many other leaders, we published a manifesto immediately after the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in which we suggested that the Reform scheme is so radically wrong alike in principle and in detail that it cannot form the basis of compromise or discussion bet the people and the Government. That was my opinion in Bombay, Delhi and Amritsar and if the Nationalists' view had prevailed and if we had decided to boycott the councils, I am sure speaking for

656

the Madras presidency we might have achieved striking results; but owing to the opposition at Amritsar chiefly of Mr. Gandhi the Congress directed the country to work the Reform Act for what it was worth. With that mandate we went into the country, and preached to the electorate to return only Nationalists. Speaking merely of human probabilities we might have succeeded to a large extent. But now it is too late and I am sure we can only suceed in boycotting the best men from the councils. Suppose a very large part of the electorate boycott the franchise I agree that it would lower the representative character of the Councils. But no inference can be drawn from the mere percentage of those who go to the polling both for even in the most advanced countries only a small percentage go to the polling booths. In England I believe it is about 50% . But in India considering the franchise introduced on this large scale for the first time after many decades and considering the defective electoral rolls, the arrangement for publicity work, and also the ignorance of the masses about these rules, I expect only 35 to 40% . will go to the polling booth. But no inference fabouable to Non-co-operation can be drawn for this at all until voters definitely declare in some definite way that they refrain from going to the polling booth on account of Non-co-operation . Even so I should xpect as a politican that it is much better that voters should vote for a candidate who is pledged to Non-co-operation rather than not exercise their franchise at all. All political arrangement lies that way.

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GENERAL OBJECTION TO THE WHOLE PROGRAMME.

I have one general objection, and a very important one too to the whole programme. The passing of Non-co-operation resolution instead of paralysing the bureaucracy has really paralysed all political activity in this country. I need only mention the Esher Committee's Report saddling India with the defence of the Middle East and making the Indian Army an appenage of the War office in England. The trade monopolies of the Government as for example the sale of Reverse Councils the state of Indians outside India, in South Africa and Fiji; India's responsibility for fighting in Mesopotamia and many other questions have practically escaped the attention of the public. . . . .

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THE FUTURE WORK.

I have criticised this programme almost every item of it. You may reasonably ask that whether I have any constructive programme of my own and what is my opinion of the future. I say I do have a constructive programme. The bureaucracy in this country is maintained by the supply of men momey and materials of our people. We must gradually educate our people to refuse to give them money by way of taxes to refuse to serve them in any capacity whatever and to have no commercial dealings with them by way of buying or selling. It is very difficult and ambitious programme but if we set about it, I am sure, we shall achieve it on a much larger scale than the items now recommended by the congress can be achieved.

I-f we achieve this the bureaucracy will then be truly paralysed. We must also carry on propaganda in our own country. I know that there are millions of countrymen to whom the Punjab and the Khilafat are today sealed books. They must be taught and made to feel that without Swaraj their existence in this country is intolerable. . . . . . .

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October 23, 1920. LEADER.

An incident related in the Indian opinion. illustrates the varied ingenuity with which the European settler in South Africa manages to circumvent the Indian. A. Ismail was a candidate for the cape city council as a representative of the Rate payers' Association. He had been duly nominated, but at the 11th hour, when there was little time to make up he was told that he was disqualified by the fact that the year's rent for his premises in Long Street had not been paid. The Indian candidate was taken by surprise. He pleaded that it was the fault of his agent who held his power of attorney and offered the required amount at once but it was refused. He argued that in justice his attention should have been accepted. His election expenses came to £ 325 but neither his cost nor his logic served him and he was quietly told that he had no go but to retire and leave the field to the rival aandidate, a Mr. Derry. Mr. Ismail, in an interview by a newspaper representative traced the loss of his chance to the machinations of a European and said he was taking legal action with a view to have the matter tested by the Supreme court.

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October 23, 1920.

BUCKINGHAM MILLS.

A LOCK OUT.

The Managers of the Buckingham Mill co., Perambore have declared a lockout of their Mills since Wednesday last owing it is alleged to the turbulent attitude to the mill hands.

It is alleged that for some time past the promotion of senior men was overlooked that the juniors were asked to carry on the work of the seniors. The juniors resented this and consistently demanded that the claim of the seniors should be respected. But this it would appear received scant court sy from the weaving master Mr. A.Bentley. On the ground it is stated, of insubordination about 100 men were dismissed from time to time. On wednesday last matters reached a climax. The men approached Mr. Benley and again insisted upon the claims of the senior men dismissed in the course of which an altercation is alleged to taken place bet the men and Mr. Bentley. The latter, it is alleged pulled out a revolver and threatened to short the ~~xx~~ men. Meantime one of the men wrenched it from Mr. Bentley's hands from behind and took it to Mr. Wadia, the president of the union. The matter was forthwith communicated to the commissionor of Police who then took possession of the revolver. It is also understood that legal proceedings will be taken against Mr. Bentley for his alleged attempt to murder.

The following notice has been put up in the Mill premises:--

"In view of the assault committed on the weaving master on the morning of the 20th instant and of the general turbulent attitude of the weavers, the Mills will be closed until further notice."

November 4, 1920. Leader.

TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

The All India Trade Union Congress which was inaugurated at Bombay on Sunday last marks a distinct stage of growth in the labour movement in India. With Lala Lajpat Rai as President Joseph Baptista as Chairman of the Reception Committee, the organisation starts under excellent auspices and there is an added in the presence at the session of colonel wedgwood the doughty champion of human rights and a messenger of sympathy and goodwill from the labour movement abroad. Not many years have passed since Indian labour emerged out of its sloth and reticence, but it has showsn a vitality and resilience in this in this short time which stand out as an earnest ofits sucess. . . . . The primary object of labour is of course to ensure a proper share in the profits of the business for which it works. Mr. Baptista declares strike, boycott and even direct action as the methods of labour's agitation; and, though these are defensible in certain circumstances, we should like Indian labour to remember that they are the last of the methods to be employed when more peaceful measures have failed. Above all, the movement of Indian labour has to place before itself the larger ideals of peace justice and fraternity which inspire analogous movements in Britain and other countries. . . . We shall hope with Lala Lajpat Rai that the movement thus inaugurated will achieve such success as will not only restore the rights of Indian workers but will link them up with their comrades outside to form an effective bulwork for the future peace and prosperity of the world.

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November 8, 1920.

THE SOFT WORD.

The Communique issued by the Government of India published elsewhere is couched in such plausible terms that one is apt to forget the essentials of the situation. What the Government intends to do or to refrain from doing can only elicite a little mild interest. It has got large powers, and it is not going all the milleniums notwithdstanding to surrender the most ancient and cumbrous weapon in its armoury of representation. It pats itself on the back for its exemplary patience, but we notethat its patience is exclusively monopolised by the principal offenders and that the small cry continue to feel the full weight of its displeasure. Representation is an unpopular word now-a-days and consequently Government disavows it in oleaginous periods, But men continue to be sentenced to heavy terms for oratorical excesses, the Press Act continues working if not as feverishly as of old but still enough to assert its existence, and pamphlets continue to be forfeited galore. All this may not be representation but bears a strong likeness to it. The leaders of course are left alone because to meddle them means strengthening the movement. Under the circumstances the attitued adopted by the Government of a patient father looking with pained indulgence on the antics of a way ward child appears to us a little convincing. We sympathise with its grief that such things should be, but cannot detect any inclination to recognise the very real grievances which inspired the movement. Little inconveniences like Non-co-operation are the inevitable penalties of profession and and practice in water tight compartments. Whatever may be

thought of specific items, the movement has its strength in the fact that it is a movement of disillusionment and the so sooner this fact is recognised by our rulers the better. Any amount of appeals to "educated" India will not scotch the movement much less kill it for the simple reason that, whatever its shortcomings its alternative co-operation under the Montaguite dispensation, is in the light of recent history viewed with justifiable mistrust. It may be all very well for Government to dam it in detail to point out the impracticability of this item or the wickedness of the other. The soreness however of which it is the expression will always remain and as long as that remains so long will Nonco-operation continue living factor in Indian politics.

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November 11, 1920.

INDIA IN 1919.

The report presented to Permanent on the material and moral progress of India during 1919 from one point of view a performance creditable to its author Mr. Rushbrook Williams. In the presentation of the matter in the general tone of the remarks and the comprehensiveness of the summary the report marks a mentionable improvement on its predecessors; and Parliament ~~permanent~~ we may be sure will give it as speedy a repose on the shelf as previous annals on the subject have received. In the essentials, however the report does not belie its usual character which as we have had occasions to point out is that of a self-righteous master describing his relations with his servant. But the art of whitewash has in this instance, been practised with a subtler touch the appearance of impartiality being cleverly sustained. . . . . The Rowlatt Act and its after math which account for the most important political events of last year are so described as to make it appear that the wickedness of the Nationalists was the cause of it. Mistrust of the Government suspicion that in the hour of victory Britain might whittle down the promise of August 1917 was, according to the report the saliant feature in the psycology of politicians when the year opened. It is not said how far Government contributed to the lapse of confidence but it is suggested that but for the encumbrance of this feeling, the Rowlatt Act would have been embraced with avidity. The objects of the Act are said to be absolutely innocuous; to combat the anarchic movement whose existence was unquestioned and to strengthen the hands of the Executive when the administration was on the perilous road to

a fundamental change. All the intensive agitation that followed the passing of the Act is set down to sentiment to the sedulously bolstered up fear that the Act spelt the withdrawal of the promise of responsible Governmnt and an iron fetter upon India's future. . . . . The Government of India in their anxiety to paint themselves white have submitted to Parliament a ridiculously wrong analysis of the Indian political situation of last year. The kink in the Government's mind while it belittles their wrongs to the vanishing point magnifies the welcome accorded to the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms of last year. It is perhaps their own consciousness of undiluted autocracy that makes them see in the paltered reforms the registering of a change as big as a cosmic mutuation. The lukewarm reception accorded to the Reforms by the majority of India does not lead the Government to the natural conclusion that she wants more but that her power of appreciation are temporarily clouded by too much emphasis on small grievances. Dealy in the fruition of the Montagu Chelmsford report, is set down as another cause of the under estimation, while a third is traced to the natural pique which the nationalists must have felt at the great success of the Moderates in influencing the deliberations of the Joint Committee. The twisting point evident in all these interpretations, diagnoses the Khilafat agitation as being partly due to the delay in the announcement of the Turkish peace terms and partly to the cussedness of the public which could not believe in spite of all that the Government could say that the issues involved were exclusively political. This genius of the Indian Government for interpreting the inwardness of movements is outdistanced only by their own complacency. The political chapter in the report

closes with the reflection that "after all the political anxieties of the year the period under review may well be said to close with a message of hope". What a pathetic statement in the light of the events which the period has be queathed to the current year.

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December, 10. 1920. LEADER.

THE MILLS' TRAGEDY.

Yesterday was the 50th day of the lockout of the employees of the Buckingham Mills and appears to have been marked according to a detailed account appearing elsewhere by indiscriminate firing by the police which if the facts are correct cannot be too strongly condemned. It is stated that the new men about 40 in number, who are being conducted daily to and from the Buckingham Mills, needlessly provoked the loiterers in the street by indecent gestures which incensed the latter. ~~Then the police who were in charge of the latter.~~ Then the police who were in charge of the new men opened fire ~~on the new men opened fire~~ on the unsuspecting passers by, wounding about 16 while one half timer a lad of about 10 years of age, the only son of his mother who was returning from work in the Carnatic Mills was shot in the head and we are informed that he subsequently died in the hospital. A woman who happened to pass by was shot in the upper part of the body. The mill authorities had put up a notice a day ago, calling on the men on lock-out to come back to duty to-day and it is said that not a single one of them responded till yesterday evening to this invitation. The mill authorities also it is alleged threatened to inflict different kinds of punishment in case they did not comply with their order. The interference of the police and the firing have strengthened we are told the conviction of the labourers that the employers failing to persuade the men to resume work have now resorted to these means to intimidate them into submission. Whatever the facts of the case, the opening fire on unarmed crowds ought to have been resorted to only when every means h d failed and there was imminent danger to life

and property. The police version in our view does not establish any such emergency. These deplorable happenings cannot be allowed to pass by without a serious investigation by an impartial committee. The readiness of the police to interfere in disputes is a violation of the fundamental rights of the labourers to organise for their common good. For the relief of the families of those who have been wounded and the mother of the dead boy sympathisers are requested to send any financial assistance that they can to the Editor who will transmit to the Union officers.

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December 11, 1920. LEADER.

BUCKINGHAM MILLS.
POLICE SHOOTING.
PRESS COMMUNIQUE.

Tthe following communique has been received from Government:--

The Government consider that the publicy should have a fuller account of the incidents briefly referred to in a previous communique in connection with the attacks on the police engaged in guarding and escort duty at the Buckingham Mills. This is the more necessary in view of the grossly misleading narratives which have appeared in the "Hindu" and "New India"

In consequence of repeated complaints of assaults it was found necessary to supply a police escort to the coolies who have been carried every day from the Harbour to the Mill and back; and there has been a police guard of 20 men at the Mill in the day time and ten men at night. Ever since the police escort has been granted lorries containing coolies have been subjected to attacks from crowds throwing stones. The escort upto and including the 8th instant consisted of one European officer and a few constables, who travelled in the same lorry as the coolies. On the 8th this guard, when the stone throwing began attempted to arrest some of the the stone throwers but it was left behind by the lorry and had some difficulty in making the way to the police station. In order to strengthen the force and so enable it to make arrests it was decided on the 9th that the police escort should travel not in the lorry with the coolies but in a separate lorry.

On the 9th evening one batch of coolies was taken from the Mill to the Law College without incident. On the return journey to the Mill the police Lorry was at a considerable distance behind the other. In the Perambore Barracks Road it was assailed with volleys of stones. The lorry was stopped the police descended and though the crowd immediately attempted to disperse suceeded in effecting 2 arrests . As soon as the police got into the lorry again and started towards the Mill the stone throwing began again but there was no further incident before it reached the Mill.

On the second journey the two lorries started from the Mill at about 4-55. The lorry containing coolies being 100 or 150 yards in front of the Police lorry while 5 mounted police men were in front of all. Large crowds had assembled at the corner of Farren's Road, and perambur Barracks Road and at the open spaces alongside Perambore Barracks Road. At the first of these 2 places the mounted police and the two lorries were subjected to a concentrated volley of stones. Several persons were struck one constable being severely injured and the police under the Deputy Commissioner's order fired 3 rounds of buckshot, with the result that the crowd there immediately dispersed. Stone throwing was resumed along the road but the lorries had by that time gained speed and though several occupants of the police lorry were struck no one was injured severely and the coolies were delivered safely at their destination. The police lorry subsequently returned in order to change the guard at the Mill and on this occasion was accompanied from the Periamet station by the Commissioner of Police.

At the same places viz., the open spaces along both sides of the Perambur barracks Road, and near the corner at the turning into Farren's Road the party was again subjected to severe stoning but reached the Mill and changed the guard. The relieved guard of 20 men accompanied by the Commissioner two Deputy commissioners and the Assistant Commissioner and an Inspector then came away in the lorry at about dusk. Stoning began again near the coner of Farran's Road and Perambur Barracks Road and after the lorry had crossed strahan's road it increased to an unprecedented extent; and ab ut half way between Strahan's Road, and the culvert near the pumping stating the hail of stones was so great and so many man were being hit that the commissioner gave orders to open fire again and 3 rounds of luckshot were shot causing an immediate dispersal of the crowd. The lorry was stopped and the commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner got down to see whether any casualities had been caused but could find none. They then went one and the journey ended without further incident. It has since been ascertained that 16 persons received injuries of whom one a boy about 10 years of age has died but it is beleived that the injuries of the others are not severe. Of these 16, 11 of including the dead boy were had been mill employees, two others were workers of the Perambur workshops. The police have all along exercised the greatest self-restraint and there is no doubt that on both the occasions on which they opened fire there was imminent risk that the whole party would be overwhelmed. It is noticeable that on the 10th morning the coolies were able to make the journey from the Harbour to the Mill unmolested.

His Excellency The Governor's Letter:--

The following correspondence betwen Mr. Wadia and the Military Secretary to His Excellency Governor is sent to us for publication:--

Dear Mr. Wadia, I am directed by His Excellency to inform you that shortly after you left here this evening the Commissioner of Police Mr. Pelley came round at His Excellency's request to inform him of the situation at Perambur. His Excellency does not wish in this letter to enter into any discussion of the details of particular occurrences this evening that must be a matter for future inquiry; but he wishes me to inform you that from the information he has received from the Commissioner there can be no doubt that large and organised crowds during the last 2 days have by stone throwing and by other means endevoured to obstruct the peaceful passage of the work men in the vicinity of the Buckingham Mills.

Under these circumstances as it is essential to secure law and order for the benefit of peaceful citizens in all parts of this city His Excellency has instructed the C-Commissioner to take such steps as he considers necessary to stop such disorderly proceedings. His Excellency would like to clearly to inform you that if any unfortunate incident should arise owing, to a collision bet the police in the performance of then duty and these riotous people, then a large share of the responsibility for such incident must rest upon yourself and those with you who claim to control and represent the interests of workers in this city. His Excellency would therefore be glad, if you give this the fullest publicity possible.

Mr. Wadia's Reply:--

Dear Major Goldie,

I beg to acknowledge your letter of last night. Will you kindly put before His Excellency my reply and oblige.

I note His Excellency view that occurrence of yesterday evening must remain a matter for future enquiry as as far as His Excellency is concerned. I am not aware that "large and organised crowds" have been troubling the peaceful passage of workmen near the Buckingham Mills or that there was anything like a reasonable justification for the extraordinary conduct of the Police Yesterday.

What I am most concerned with in this letter is to draw His Excellency's attention about his instructions to the Police Commissioner of which your letter speaks. None objects to the Police securing law and order; there are ways of doing that well-known and fully recognised in all countries. If however His Excellency's instructions to the Police Commissioner carry with the men approval of the indiscriminate firing and other high handed methods employed by the Police yesterday evening or the authorization of similar methods in the future, I must respectfully but strongly protest against such an attitude on the part of His Excellency. I cannot conceive of any civilized Government adopting such methods for the purpose of securing "law and order". Yesterday police action did more to disturb the equilibrium of law and order than secure it, and created not an unjustifiable feeling of anger in thousands of people. From what I know and from what I have gathered from enquiry I can confidently assert that yesterday's indiscriminate shooting was unnecessary and uncalled for.

Lastly I must express my surprise and regret that His Excellency chooses to say that responsibility of such incident as of yesterday must rest upon men and those who with me "claim to control and represent the interests of workers in this city. His Excellency must be well aware that my colleggues and I who have been interesting ourselves in our humble way in ameliorating the lot of the work people in this city have always in theory and in practice xxxxx and preached observed law and order and His Excellency xxx is aware how some of us have been obliged not to approach the work people of the Buckingham Mills. In these circumstances the entire responsibility for shocking incidents like those of yesterday must certainly rest on persons other than the humble friends and servants of the work people of this city like myself.
To give due publicity to His Excellency's views I have passed on your letter to be read out and translated to the men. Hoping to be excused for the trouble I have given in the matter to His Excellency.

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December 14, 1920.

LEADER.

Now that the Andhra Desa and Sind have got their own Congress circles it is nothing surprising that Karnataka too should agitate for a congress circle of its own. At present, unfortunately owing party to history and administrative inconvenience and party too to geographical conditions linguistic Karnataka is distri buted in widely differing administrative units. There are first th four karnatak districts Bombay Dharwar, Belgaum, Bijapur and Korwar secondly the 2 Madras Districts of Bellary and South Kanara, and 3rdly Coorg, the Mysore province, the Southern Mahratta states of Bombay and portions of the Hyderabad state. As against this diversity of territorial interests, the Karnatak population of western and peninsula India has a cultural unity with a living and expanding language and with a literature at once old has rich and growing. In the last few years, there has grown up a desire among the Karnataka people which is what may perhaps be termed sub-national in its characteristics. The Karnataka people want to develop their language and in other ways improve their cultural material and political condition and they now ask for a proper organisation to secure these their objects within the congress fold. Since 1917 when the A.I-C.C. shelved the application of this linguistic group events have occurred which favour the karnataka claims. The Dharwar conference an All-India Karnataka conference presided over by Mr. V.P.Madhava Row last may asked for such a separate karnataka circle; and the c ngress sub-committee appointed to consider the congress constitution have suggested the division of India into linguistic circles with of course a separate circle for the Karnataka; The Karnataka congressmen point to the

December 16, 1920. LEADER.

ABSOLUTION.

The expected has happened and the Madras Government has given all the absolution in their power to the police in respect of the grim tragedy that was enacted in the sacred name of law and order on the 9th December. In spite of the half-promise made by His Excellency in his extraordinary letter to Mr. Wadia that there would be an enquiry, his Government have chosen to dispense with all such inconvenient formalities and set the seal of approval, my commendation, on the shooting incident. However anxious Government may have been to back up its agents in any little troubles that they might get into thro' excess of zeal the barest decency demanded that there should be a show at least of an enquiry. The police may have sincerely believed that they were in imminent danger of being stoned to death. There is however no reason why the public or any fair minded Government should accept the belief as an irrefutable fact and blandly close the incident with a pleasant word of thanks for every body concerned - except of course the pestilent agitators and their dupes. We publish elsewhere the report of the Commissioner of police and also proceedings of the public meeting held yesterday. Accounts have already appeared in our columns from eye witnesses whose credibility is at least as reliable as that of a panic stricken policeman. The public can form its own conclusions on the truth of the official narrative which making full use at it does of isolated incidents for cumulative effect reads suspiciously like special pleading. What we wish to impress upon our readers is that there are two sides to the case and that police versions are not to say the least invariably

distinguished by the strict adhesion to the plain unvarnished turth. The Commissioner had to make out a case for the s shotting and he has made one such as it is. But what shall we think of the conduct of a Government which on the strength of that report is prepared to pass judgment without even making a pretence of hearing the other side? There have been reports of grave provocation by the police and "blacklegs". There is more than a suspicion that in the battle of Parambur all the misslilles did not come from one side. The activity of the police in the matter of recruiting and exerting pressure on the recalcitrant hands the rough handling that any Indian crowd receives from the mounted police, are all factors which the police account conveniently ignores. Even if the facts given in it are absolutely correct it manifestly is guilty of "Suppressio veri". It may tell the truth; it certainly does not tell the whole truth. When we urged an enquiry it was not entirely on the gournd that it was necessary to enquire whether this particular shooting was justified or not. That is not an important reason for an enquiry no doubt but loudly as the grievances of the sufferers calls for redress there is still a more important question involved. That is the relation of the authorities to the protagonists in a labour dispute. Would it not be as well for His Excellency's Government to state frankly that in any dispute between Labour and capital the full resources of the state would be employed on the side of the latter? One could then at least understand the facility with which it has managed to sooth any qualms of conscience over the necessity for the shooting. An assumption of impartiality requires a show of enquiry. How much His -

Excellency had prejudged the case was apparent from his grotesque attempt to saddle the responsibility for the shooting upon the leaders of the labour party. The indecent haste with which without making the faintest attempt to get at versions of the events other than that of the party whose conduct is under suspicion he has closed the episode only confirms the impression that labour is not likely to receive fair play at his hands. The public is interested in the matter for a more direct reason than even the perpetration of a gross injustice. The use of force in Labour disputes is an ill-thing for any statesmen to justify and as violence in-variably breeds violence the public is naturally apprehensive at such blatant incentives to discord as the one sided verdict of the Madras Government. We are glad therefore that an unofficial enquiry is to be opened, the conclusions of which while they may not convince Lord Willingdon may at least teach him the elementary lesson that there are two sides to every case.

1265/RH/
8/5/89
9-10/2015/RH
16/2/84 RH
690/RH/84
1185/86
163/87
23/6/89
2028/RH/90
0410/RH 17